The Nation.

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The Week.

PRESIDENT CLEVELAND'S friends were pointing on the following Wednesday and Thursday to popular approval of his war message as its sufficient justification. They have since learned a thing or two about the real popular sentiment of the country, and are now quite ready to drop that argument. But even if the blare of the first week had kept up, it would but have intensified the President's guilt. His vast powers were put in his hands, as Burke said of the war powers of the ministers of the Crown, "as a sacred deposit, to secure us against popular rashness in plunging into wars." Thus the yell of the mob is itself the condemnation of the ruler who evokes it. As Burke adds: "It is no excuse at all for a minister who, at our desire, takes a measure contrary to our safety, that it is our own act. He who does not stay the hand of suicide is guilty of murder." Sir Robert Walpole was forced, against his better judgment, into the war with Spain, in 1739, by popular clamor. That was an immensely popular war. Yet what was the testimony, a few years later, of the men who had excited that clamor and compelled Walpole to go to war?

"None of them," says Burke, "no, not one, did in the least defend the measure, or attempt to justify their conduct. They condemned it as freely as they would have done in commenting upon any proceeding in history in which they were totally unconcerned. Thus it will be. They who stir up the people to improper desires, whether of peace or war, will be condemned by themselves. They who weakly yield to them will be condemned by history."

The anti-war meeting at Cooper Union last week was as large as the great hall could hold, and as enthusiastic for peace and as full of indignation over the war-dance at Washington as it is possible to conceive. Not over 10 per cent. of those present were out of harmony with the speakers. The Jingo press, and especially the *Tribune*, gave mendacious reports of it in order to magnify the numbers of those who came to create a disturbance. They sought to belittle the demonstration, which was here given in an impromptu way, of the Christian spirit and sound sense of New York. This meeting was called suddenly. The hall was not secured until a late hour on Saturday evening. There were no posters and no bands of music. There had been no time to collect a crowd in the usual way. Scarcely any notice of it had been given in the newspapers. Yet the people came in larger numbers than the hall could contain, and they cheered the speakers to the echo, and fairly drowned with applause the few dissenters who came to make a row. The latter were tolerated in a good-natured way, but they ought to have been expelled by the police, and the ringleaders ought to have been lodged in the Tombs. It was not their meeting. They can hold a meeting of their own. They have a perfect right to do so. They had no right to come and disturb Henry George's meeting. Mr. George is entitled to the greatest credit for this demonstration. He hired the hall, obtained the speakers, and procured the little advertising that it had, and himself made a powerful and effective speech in the interest of peace and common sense. The slow coaches of the Chamber of Commerce might well take pattern from him.

Mr. George asked the question, how many of the people knew a month ago where British Guiana was. The answer was an outburst of laughter all over the house, which was equivalent to saying that none of them or very few of them did know. Mr. George frankly acknowledged that, a month ago, he did not know himself. There was no more reason a month ago, or even a week ago, why people should know where British Guiana is, than where Griqualand is, or the Transvaal Republic. How many people know to-day where the Rand gold mines are? The newspapers have teemed with accounts of these mines, and of the "Kaffir circus," for a whole year, yet if a map of Africa were laid before the audience that filled the hall of Cooper Institute, or any other mixed audience, not one in fifty could put their fingers within a thousand miles of the place; and no blame to them for that. Richard Cobden once said that not one in ten of the fellows of Oxford University, if they had a map of the United States before them, could tell where Chicago was, or come within a thousand miles of it, although 25 per cent. of the inhabitants of Great Britain obtained their food from that place. Now, if Mr. George was right in saying that the average American citizen did not know a month ago where British Guiana is, is it likely that he knew whether the Monroe Doctrine applied to it or not? The question answers itself. Mr. Cleveland must have presumed upon this ignorance when he sent in his threatening message. He assumed that people would take his word for it that the Monroe Doctrine was infringed. This they have done to a very large and dangerous extent.

The General of the Army, Nelson A. Miles, made a speech at the New England dinner in Philadelphia on Monday week which is described by those who heard it as a most impressive protest against the barbarity of war. Like most men who have done their fighting in the field, not on paper, he has only words of reprobation for those who are crying, "On to war! Any kind of a war so long as we have a war!" Gen. Miles spoke with great earnestness of the absolute need of a general conviction that a war was just, before the possibility of the American people's going into it or succeeding in it could be thought of. It was a needful warning, too, which he gave the citizens of Philadelphia, with their commerce of $400,000,000 a year, when he reminded them that not a single modern gun stood between them and the sea. Of course, Gen. Miles could say nothing of current war alarms, but his significant plea for peace and moderation, coming from such a source, is most timely and welcome. A fortnight ago, though, the Jingoes would have been clamoring for his instant dismissal.

The South has cut a very creditable figure during the past fortnight. Like every other section, it has suffered from the too frequent lapse of its newspapers into the control of men who have no proper appreciation of the editor's obligation to take a calm view of events, and quiet rather than intensify an unreasoning popular excitement. Then, too, the South has felt a special obligation to manifest its entire readiness to support the national authorities loyally if a crisis should come, in view of the fact that the last time the Federal Government was engaged in war it was with the Southern States. Under these circumstances it was inevitable that there should have been a good deal of wild talk in that part of the country; but a number of the leading editors did not lose their heads, and the tone of the Southern press now compares favorably with that of Northern newspapers. The Charleston *News and Courier*, which has been on the right side throughout, expresses the not unjustifiable opinion that "the good sense and cool judgment displayed by the Southern press in this time of unusual and unnecessary excitement will be of lasting benefit to the South, and contribute vastly to the commercial and industrial development of this part of the country."

The inborn and intense hatred which Americans and Englishmen have for each other has had some curious manifestations during the past ten days. At the very moment that third-term organs of hate, like the *Sun*, were declaring that nothing would be so popular in this country as a war with England, and while the President was being made to believe that nine-tenths of the people were of his mind, the real feelings of sympathy and solidarity between the two nations began to stir, and have led to some of the most remarkable interchanges of international

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greetings ever recorded. Messages of peace have passed between churches, chambers of commerce, and trade associations. The appeal from English men of letters to their American brethren to do their best to prevent a civil war in English literature, was perhaps couched in somewhat hysterical terms, but spoke, after all, for a strong and genuine sentiment on both sides of the ocean. It was but an echo of Tennyson's message, an expression of the real continuity of life that still binds this country to England, and a conviction that our best civil life and ideals are due to "that deep chord which Hampden smote."

The reports of the committee on ways and means on the financial situation are as petty as the conduct of both House and Senate in rushing madly at the President's heels when he sent his war scare to Congress. The committee assumes first that the trouble with the finances is a lack of revenue, although the Treasury holds a hundred millions of surplus of the kinds of money it *does not want;* being the very kind that this sapient committee proposes to give it some more of. In order to do this, it proposes a tariff on wool, not to furnish revenue for the Government, but to favor special interests at the expense of the consumers of woollen goods. An increased duty on sugar would really give the Government more revenue if more were needed, as it is not. All the tariff talk is a mere blind. Those who voted for the committee's bill, accordingly, know that its effects, even if it should pass the Senate and be signed by the President, would not be felt in the revenue returns of the Government for a whole year. Moreover, the declared purpose of the bill is to curtail importations. Since revenue is collected from goods which come in, and not from goods which are kept out, the result must be a still further shrinkage of the public receipts. Therefore the tariff bill is a game of false pretences. Probably those who voted for it do not expect that it will become a law.

The debate on the bond bill showed clearly that the Republicans are getting ready to jump on the President with both feet when the terms of the new loan are announced. They say that a 3 per cent. bond can easily be sold at par if offered as "a popular loan." They have fixed that rate in the bill, and have provided that all loans made hereafter shall be negotiated in pursuance of advertisement. Nearly two years ago the Government tried to sell $50,000,000 of bonds for gold in that way. The "popular" part of the loan panned out at something less than two millions. The Government's credit was better then than it is now, yet the loan would have been a total failure had not the bankers come in at the very last day and subscribed for all that was left—that is, for all except the two millions. A popular loan at 3 per cent. now would bring nothing. If the Senate should pass this bill in time, it might be worth while to try the effect of such an advertisement for the purpose of demonstrating its futility. There is not the least probability, however, that the Senate will pass it at all. There was only thirty-four majority for it in the House, and the elements of opposition to it in the Senate are relatively much greater, especially the Republican opposition. This is composed of men who want the country brought to a silver basis or a paper basis. The men who want a depreciated currency are much stronger in the Senate than in the House, and they have the further advantage that there is no rule in the Senate for terminating debate. In this matter the Senate is as badly off as it was in 1893, when the Sherman repeal bill was pending. The situation of the Government, however, is such that it cannot wait. It can hardly wait for ordinary debate. Its demand notes must be met. They must be met, too, in such a way as to give assurance that they will be paid regularly and continuously, since otherwise there will be a panic like that of last February, when gold was drawn largely for private hoarding. The upshot of the whole matter is that the bond bill, as passed by the House, is worthless, but that it will be stopped in the Senate because it is not bad enough. The Government will then resort to the same legislation that it used when the bond syndicate transaction was made. The rate of interest will be high, corresponding to the needs of the borrower, and then the Republicans will turn all their batteries on the President.

Speaker Reed finds that he, too, has a team of wild horses on his hands, as Mr. Harrison said that President Cleveland would find that he had when the last Congress met. When the Maine man was Speaker before, the Republicans had only a bare majority of the House, and it was simply necessary to decide upon a course of party action in order to bring an irresistible pressure to bear upon any member who was inclined to be recalcitrant. But it is a very different thing to warn a Representative that he must surrender his own convictions or wreck the prospects of the party when he can see that his vote may turn the scales, and to "bring him into line" when there is a Republican majority of over 130 to draw upon. The crack of the party whip even by a czar who had just taken the reins in hand had no effect upon nearly fifty Republican Representatives on Saturday, and the Speaker had a narrow escape from defeat at the very opening of the session.

Mr. Reed suffers seriously now from the lack of that quality which made him so powerful six years ago. Then he was bold to the verge of rashness, and defiant of all opposition in the party ranks. His very audacity made him irresistible, and Republican Representatives who did not agree with him had to support him, however much against their will. But now he is hampered by his Presidential ambition, and his consequent unwillingness to run the risk of offending members who may control the choice of delegates from their districts to the Republican national convention. He wants support from the States that believe in greenbacks and free silver coinage, as well as from those that are outspoken for sound money. Moreover, he knows that McKinley and Harrison have friends and supporters on the Republican side of the House who would like to see him tripped up, and he therefore feels that he must pick his way with great caution. The effect of all this is that the Thomas B. Reed of 1895–'96 is a very different personality from the Thomas B. Reed of 1889–'90, and the indications are that he will be a much less forceful Speaker during this session than he was six years ago, without, however, making up for his losses from this source by an accession of popular confidence on the ground of his conservatism.

The State of Maine has now a record for unbroken service, in one or other branch of Congress, on the part of all of her delegation, which it is safe to say that no other commonwealth has ever equalled in the history of the country. Frye entered the House of Representatives in 1871 and served there continuously until 1881, when he was promoted to the Senate as Blaine's successor, and recently began a term that will end in 1901. At the same time Eugene Hale entered the Senate as Hamlin's successor, and he has been twice re-elected. Mr. Reed entered the House in 1877, and has now entered upon his tenth consecutive term. Mr. Dingley joined him in 1881, and Messrs. Boutelle and Milliken in 1883, and each of these three has been reëlected every two years since he entered. Until 1883 Maine had five Representatives; since then only four. Beginning with 1883 and ending with 1897, the entire delegation in both Senate and House will have gone without a single change for a period of fourteen years. The result is that Maine has carried off an extraordinary proportion of congressional honors: Mr. Reed is Speaker of the House, Mr. Frye is to be President pro tem. of the Senate when the Republicans come into control of the upper branch, Mr. Dingley is chairman of the ways and means committee, and Mr. Boutelle has an important chairmanship.

The new Republican Governor of Kentucky has made a very unfortunate start. After uttering in his inaugural brave and sound words against lynching and in favor of maintaining the laws, his first official act was to pardon, in advance even of his conviction or trial, a man who had been arrested on election day for violation of the law against carrying concealed weapons. Worse still, the object of executive

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favor was a man whose occupation makes him a daily violator of the laws—a man engaged in the lottery business, which is a felony in Kentucky. The exercise of the pardoning power in advance of conviction has always been exceedingly rare, and is never justified save in those very exceptional cases where malice or accident or popular feeling has plainly subjected a good citizen to the unmerited odium of an arrest. That it should be used in behalf of a professional lawbreaker, and apparently for political reasons, is disgraceful. That it should save such a law-breaker from even so much as a fine for the offence of carrying a concealed weapon, is a fresh threat to the safety of life in a community where every official is bound to use all his influence against a return to barbarism.

Chief-Justice Snodgrass of the Tennessee Supreme Court is not without defenders. One of them writes to the Nashville *Banner*, which had condemned him for shooting a lawyer who had criticised one of his decisions, to say that "the Judge did exactly right," and that "he could not have done otherwise without disgracing the State and the high position which he occupies." Nor does the *Banner's* correspondent stop with justifying Snodgrass in this particular case. He carries the argument to its logical conclusion, and boldly maintains that it is the lack of Snodgrasses that is ruining the judiciary of this country. Upon this point he says:

"No man is fit to be on the Supreme bench or hold any other high public trust in this great republic who is not the personification of chivalry and honor, and the trouble with the country now is that there are too many of the white-livered fellows occupying high positions. The degrading crusade against the manhood of the citizen by the white-livered moral censors since the war has well-nigh degraded our people."

This is no mere matter of theory. The *Banner's* correspondent appeals to history, and asks the world to "compare the men of that chivalric age that gave birth to our Declaration of Independence and our Constitution with the present generation, and behold the difference." It is well for a degenerate age thus to be reminded how often George Washington used to draw his revolver on any editor who ventured to criticise him, how frequently Thomas Jefferson would leave his desk in the State Department in order to call to account some politician who questioned the purity of his motives, and what a common occurrence it was for Chief-Justice Jay, when he left the Supreme Court room, to shoot down some upstart of a lawyer who had expressed doubt as to his being the greatest jurist in the history of the world.

Ohio has a prison-labor problem for the new Legislature to solve. The last body of lawmakers enacted a statute which restricts the output of convict-made goods to 10 per cent. of the product of the free labor of the State in the same line of manufacture. This law was due to an agitation on the part of workingmen in certain industries, who claimed that they were being ruined by the cheap goods put on the market by contractors for prison labor. It has proved even more effective than was anticipated. The restriction of output to one-tenth of the total product outside of the penitentiary has rendered it impossible for the State to secure enough contracts in any industry to keep the prisoners at work. The result is that 500 men who have been sentenced by the courts to hard labor sit in idleness, and suffer all the demoralizing consequences of inactivity which we have seen under similar circumstances in this State. The frequent recurrence of such a state of things in our penal institutions is a reproach to the modern capacity for government.

The recent strike among the street-car men in Philadelphia has served incidentally to show one advantage of the high-license system that prevails in Pennsylvania. It has always been held that the large sum demanded for the privilege of conducting a saloon not only must incline the holders of licenses to obey the law when its violation threatened so heavy a loss as the withdrawal of the privilege, but also would secure a higher order of men as saloon-keepers than when anybody can get the chance to sell liquor for a petty sum. This theory has been demonstrated to be correct in Philadelphia. Appreciating the danger to the public peace involved in keeping the saloons open evenings, while many thousands of idle and desperate men were abroad, the Director of Pubic Safety requested the holders of licenses to close their places at the end of the afternoon. He could only ask this, not require it, as the law gives no city official the right to close saloons except during the hours required by the State law; and yet the mere request was universally complied with throughout the city. Such action would hardly be possible in a city of low license, and the incident furnishes a fresh argument in favor of demanding a large sum for the privilege of liquor-selling.

The burning issue in the State of Washington week before last was not whether there should be a war with England, but whether a citizen of Tacoma should be allowed to keep a Chinese cook. Some years ago the Chinese were "run out" of the city, and until recently they have understood that their treaty rights did not entitle them to residence in Tacoma. Not long ago, however, a prominent citizen engaged a Chinese cook and another household servant of the same race. The greatest excitement ensued, and a strong element favored driving the two Chinamen out of town immediately. One of the two concluded that the safest plan was to leave of his own accord, but the other stood his ground. It was finally agreed to refer the question whether he should be allowed to remain to the Chamber of Commerce, and "the largest and most representative gathering of business men held in a long time" responded to the call for the meeting. Fortunately for the reputation of the city, after full consideration, a report presented by the trustees of the Chamber was adopted, advising that the Chinese agitation be speedily dropped, and declaring that it has no place in Tacoma; that the city, being a seaport town, is necessarily cosmopolitan, and that all nationalities should be given equal rights in the community. The report held that it was entirely improbable that any considerable number of Chinese would come, and concluded:

"The members of the Chamber of Commerce pledge themselves here and now, as law-abiding citizens, to sustain and uphold the Mayor of this city in any effort he may be called upon to make to suppress lawlessness or disorder growing out of the agitation of the so-called Chinese question."

Thursday's *Wool and Cotton Reporter* said of the year just closing, that in the wool business 1895 has been "signally eventful," having "broken all previous records in the volume of sales." As compared with 1894, the increase of foreign and domestic wool sold has been 86,000,000 pounds. The year has also been "memorable," adds the *Reporter*, for "an unprecedented development of the worsted industry," and for "some tardy recovery in values of the staple from the depression of two years ago" (McKinley-tariff times). It quotes the prices of several lines of domestic wool to show the advance scored under free wool. If the new Republican wool-tax ever reaches the President, this leading organ of the wool trade and woollen manufacture will furnish him all the reasons he needs to veto it.

War-talk as a partisan trick is something about which the German Conservatives have little to learn. Whenever they find themselves too hard pressed politically, they get up a great row over the army estimates, or navy enlargement, and come out strong in behalf of the fatherland. They are just now trying, by a little diversion of this kind, to rally from the severe check they received in the Reichstag by the defeat of the anti-revolution bill and the loss of prestige involved in the forced resignation of Von Köller, the great lèse-majesté prosecutor. The occasion seized is the proposal to make full battalions out of half-battalions; and as the Reichstag must vote the money required for this increase of the army, a great deal has had to be heard about being "true to the Kaiser from head to foot," protecting the frontiers against the foe, and all that. The thing may succeed, as similar tricks have so many times succeeded, but at least nobody in Germany is imposed upon by it at this time of day.

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MONROE DOCTRINE.

ONE of the best passages in Dr. Huntington's sermon on Sunday week was what follows:

"One point, however, it may not be amiss to make, seeing how much talk there is just now of 'Doctrine,' and seeing also that doctrine is a matter well within the lines of the pulpit's liberties. I remark, then, that in all questions where a 'doctrine' is involved, nothing is more important than that we should distinguish between husk and kernel, bark and pith, shell and substance. The letter of the doctrine is one thing, the spirit of it is another. What were the framers of a doctrine driving at when they set it forth, what was the conviction that lay behind their words, what was the end at which they aimed, the thought they labored to express? That is the way in which large-minded theologians look at and interpret the doctrines of religion; would it be amiss on the part of statesmen if they were to scan and sift political doctrine after the same fashion? And if we were to subject to that sort of analysis the particular doctrine which is now so hotly discussed, should we not find the essence of it to be in our resolve that there shall be on this side of the Atlantic no subverting of that form of government which we call free?"

If our politicians had any resemblance to "large-minded theologians," they would of course have sought out the original intention of the framers of the Monroe Doctrine, and have examined it from generation to generation in the light of that intention. Any one who examined it in that light would have found that the kernel and spirit of it was the fear that European monarchies would do what the Spaniards were then trying to do in South and Central America, and what the French tried to do afterwards in 1863 in Mexico—impose governments on the people by the use of foreign force—and that a set of such governments on this continent would then endanger our republican institutions here.

This was a perfectly rational view. The talk of the Holy Alliance, and the invasion of Spain by the French, all lent color to it. Canning believed it, and expressed his belief in a proposal to resist European aggression of this sort in America, in combination with the United States. Had this view been adhered to, the Monroe Doctrine would have become every year of less importance to us, and have received less mention, as we grew stronger and the European Powers more liberal and less aggressive. Since the Monroe Doctrine was propounded, France, which was one of the members of the Holy Alliance, has become a republic; Austria and Germany, other members of it, have become, as has Italy, which they were holding in bondage, parliamentary monarchies. England has become a trading republic in all but in name, and we have risen from a nation of 10,000,000 to one of 70,000,000. The sole attempt ever made since Monroe's time—that in Mexico—ended in most tragical defeat. The death of Maximilian and the overthrow of the French Empire were as solemn warnings against any other attempt to Europeanize any American state as history contains on any subject.

But, strange to say, the more the Monroe Doctrine lost its importance the more eagerly our politicians went to work to "develop it." There is nothing in the history of Christian doctrine which can compare with the unrolling which Mr. Monroe has undergone at the hands of his disciples. Abyssinian Christianity is considered a good way off from the New Testament Gospel, but it is not nearly so far from it as the Monroeism of Olney and Lodge and Chandler, and the general Jingo multitude, from the Monroeism of Monroe. In reading Mr. Olney's despatch the other day, we were, in fact, irresistibly reminded of the things a clever juggler extracts from a hat. First will come a photograph, then some baby-linen, then a flower, then a pair of drawers, and then a sausage, and then an endless ribbon.

Although there has been much hammering out of the doctrine by the newspaper youths and by the politicians, the real work of development did not begin until last year. In the early part of 1895 we were simply lending "good offices" to bring about a settlement of the dispute by mediation, just as Mr. Monroe himself might have done before the birth of the Doctrine; just as any Power might do to-day. The first article that comes out of the hat is an "admitted canon of international law" that any nation may interfere, if it pleases, in any quarrel between any other two nations. To call this a "canon of international law" is almost funny, because it is as old as the Aryan race, being neither more nor less than the right of every nation to go to war if it pleases. The next is a prohibition, directed to European Powers, to make a canal across the Isthmus of Panama. Next a prohibition against Cuba being transferred to any other European Power. Next, inability of the United States to act as mediator jointly with European Powers in a dispute between two American states. Next, that "any permanent political union between a European and American state is unnatural and inexpedient," and that any such union is dangerous to the United States. Next, that the United States and the Spanish American states are by "geographical proximity, natural sympathy, and similarity of governmental constitutions our friends and allies commercially and politically." This is the most marvellous of the developments, and corresponds to the baby-linen in the juggler's hat. Next is the doctrine that if the European Powers were now allowed "to convert American states into provinces or colonies of their own," "the struggle now going on for the acquisition of Africa might be transferred to South America," and the "partition of all South America between the various European Powers" would soon take place. Next, that "suggestions of the friendliness of the European Powers, and their good will towards us, and their dispositions, should they be our neighbors, to dwell with us in peace and harmony," are of no value. All this, Mr. Olney says, is "American public law, founded on principle and abundantly sanctioned by precedent."

Next comes the "development" that the Monroe message, in sanctioning "European colonies or dependencies then existing on this continent," meant, "then existing with their limits then existing," and, of course, that, where the limits were not defined, the American state was to draw the boundary line to please itself, and that the United States might decide in what manner the boundary line should be determined. Next, that strong European states must always submit to arbitration any claim made by weak American states, and that it is the duty and privilege of the United States to chastise the strong states if they refuse. Next, that Great Britain's refusal to arbitrate is injurious "to the interests of the people of the United States, as well as oppressive in itself," and will justify war. After this the last and greatest development of all, that the United States is "sovereign on this continent" and actually rules it, will excite no surprise.

We are sure that Dr. Huntington will agree with us that not only in no one year, but in no one century, of the Christian church, was one-tenth part as much ever got out of any one Christian doctrine by the most industrious theologian as Mr. Olney has got out of the Monroe Doctrine within the present year. What makes the performance all the more extraordinary is, that although the European Powers have never formally accepted the original Monroe Doctrine, they have practically accepted it in its original purity. None of them would now attempt to oppress, or encroach on, or impose a foreign government on, an American state. But they had not accepted it as "a canon of international law," and probably will never be got to do so, any more than the Olney developments. The reason is very simple. Any nation can hold any doctrines it pleases as to its own hopes, aims, or duties in this world, just as a private man can hold what the Catholics call "pious opinions." But if it produces a doctrine that brings it in contact with foreigners, and is to govern its conduct towards them, the doctrine is simply a sort of declaration of war which sleeps until the occasion for its application arises. The doctrine has no place in international law until all other nations agree to it. It owes all its importance to the threat which backs it. If Mr. Olney had any proper conception of what he was arguing about, he might have disposed of the whole matter in half a column. All he need have said to Lord Salisbury was, "If you don't arbitrate that boundary line with Venezuela, we shall go to war with you as soon as we hear from you." His argumentative discussion is really not only contradictory and difficult of comprehension, but unnecessary. As he and the President have left the doctrine to-day, it is simply a challenge to the world to fight the United

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States, and has no more law in it than Napoleon's invasion of Russia.

VENEZUELA AS A SISTER REPUBLIC.

It is a remarkable example of the power of words to take the place of ideas that our Government should now revert to the Monroe Doctrine and call upon us to stand by Venezuela, as a republic, against Great Britain—our ally in the previous controversy—as a monarchy. Of course, Venezuela is called a republic, as Great Britain is called a monarchy; but if we go behind the names and consider the facts, what do we find? Are the institutions of Venezuela republican? Is its government popular? It is notorious that in Latin America the majority of the so-called republics are military dictatorships, tempered by periodical revolutions. In the intermediate periods between successive dictatorships their condition is one of anarchy. During the reign of each military tyrant the forms of republican government are observed; elections are held; but the "purity of the ballot" is protected by troops, and the success of the governmental candidates is assured by the show of armed force. During the periods of revolutionary anarchy all traces of republicanism disappear. There is no security for life or property except in the case of foreigners, who are protected by the war-vessels of their respective countries.

Nowhere did Mr. Olney have his eye more off the fact than when, in his horror at the idea of "monarchical" England getting 33,000 more square miles in South America, he enlarged upon "the opposite principle"—"the inalienable right of self-government"—which Venezuela so happily illustrates. Not only by "geographical proximity," but by "natural sympathy" and "similarity of governmental constitution," she is our "friend and ally." How then could we, with our "vital interest in the cause of popular self-government," allow the "subjugation" of this model and sister republic by any European power committed to the "monarchical principle"? Our Secretary, it is true, seems aware that there have been "frequent internal revolutions" in Venezuela, but these are for him only a good reason why she had not more constantly opposed the aggression of Great Britain—not at all an impeachment of her pure republicanism. Yet it needs but a glance at Venezuelan history, a slight acquaintance with the writings of travellers, and a reference to our own diplomatic dealings with Venezuela, to show the true nature of the "popular self-government" in which Mr. Olney displays so vital an interest. Venezuelan independence was not conceded by Spain till 1845. From 1846 to 1870 the country rushed from one revolution into another, stable government of any sort being practically unknown during all that period. From 1870 to 1873 Guzman Blanco was Dictator, and from the latter year on was Dictator under the name of President. He adopted the convenient custom of having himself declared President for four years, then of going as Minister to France and England for four years, leaving one of his creatures in the Presidential chair, and then returning to be President again himself. The present President, Gen. Crespo, got his office by a revolution, held it two years as Dictator, meanwhile confiscating the property of all who had opposed him, and then went through the form of being elected President by a Congress elected by himself.

Venezuelan devotion to the inalienable right of self-government is finely illustrated by events that took place no longer ago than 1892. In that year there was a dispute as to the validity of the title of President Palacio, pending the election of a successor under a new constitution. The opinion of the Supreme Court was invoked. The judges found against the President. He promptly threw all of them into jail—except the ones that ran away. Then the President asked Congress to pass a resolution affirming his title. When it refused to do so, he had it closed by troops, and had all the members who voted against him arrested. Every member of the federal council was also imprisoned. All the newspapers except the Government organ were suppressed. Martial law was declared, and the President issued a proclamation asserting, in the most patriotic terms, his earnest purpose to "safeguard the liberties of the people." He went on to say that, as "guardian of the Constitution and the law," it would be necessary for him to become Dictator, though this did not mean "a personal government, which I in my strict republican convictions abhor." Mr. Olney himself could not be more emphatic on that point.

Venezuela's record as a stanch friend and ally of this country is fully up to her shining example of republicanism. The volumes of our foreign correspondence reveal a succession of embarrassments and embroilments with her Government. Two late instances of her extreme friendliness to us should appeal with especial force to our Republican friends. She rejected the Blaine-McKinley proffer of reciprocity, and did it in offensive terms. Her Congress resolved that, in the first place, they did not want to abate any of their customs duties, and, furthermore, that they did not want to discriminate in favor of the manufacturers of the United States as against those of Europe, with whom they were, and desired to continue, on the best of terms. This from our "natural, commercial, and political ally"!

In 1871 three American steamers were seized by Venezuelan belligerents, and a claim for damages was, in consequence, taken up and pushed by our State Department. Venezuela promised indemnity again and again, but would never pay up. Negotiations dragged along for twenty years till, finally, in 1890, Congress passed a joint resolution "authorizing and empowering the President of the United States to take such measures as in his judgment may be necessary to promptly obtain indemnity from the Venezuelan Government; . . . and to secure this end he is authorized to employ such means or *exercise such power* as may be necessary." This resolution became a law without President Harrison's signature. But oh the difference to Mr. Olney if it had been England and Lord Salisbury proposing such violence against our friend, ally, and sister republic!

In a word, the American Secretary of State's references to Venezuelan republicanism and friendship and English monarchy and hostility have no more to do with the facts than with the planet Jupiter. Hundreds of Americans in the Turkish Empire, many of them from Mr. Olney's own State, pray God every day that England may take Syria or Armenia and give the natives and American residents alike justice, liberty, and protection to life and property. At the same moment the head of their own Government is asserting that if Great Britain should retain English law and representative government over 33,000 square miles in South America, where it now exists, the people of the United States would be compelled to arm themselves to the teeth and rush into a bloody war to undo the outrage.

THE MANOA COMPANY.

The London *Times*, on the very day of receiving the President's war message, spoke significantly of "the American concession-hunters who swarm in Caracas and are responsible for much of the excitement in Venezuela." We have received several letters since the message was sent to Congress, requesting us to look into the matter of the Manoa Company, with a view to seeing whether any American capitalists or adventurers were privately interested in getting up a war between this country and Great Britain. An allusion was made in one of Lord Salisbury's despatches to concessions granted by Venezuela in the disputed territory *after* an agreement had been reached by the two governments to treat it as neutral ground pending the negotiation. He used the following language:

"While, however, the Venezuelan Minister constantly stated that the matter was under active consideration, it was found that in the same year a concession had been given by his Government to Gen. Pulgar, which included a large portion of the territory in dispute. This was the third breach by Venezuela of the agreement of 1850.

"Early in 1884, news arrived of a fourth breach by Venezuela of the agreement of 1850 through two different grants, *which covered the whole of the territory in dispute*, and as this was followed by actual attempts to settle on the disputed territory, the British Government could no longer remain inactive.

"Warning was, therefore, given to the Venezuelan Government and to the concessionaires, and a British magistrate was sent into the threatened district to assert the British rights."

Lord Salisbury mentioned no names or

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nationalities, any more than he did in his quiet little remark to Mr. Olney, apropos of arbitration, that "the task of insuring compliance with the award when it is made is not exempt from difficulty." It was quite evident, however, that he knew as well who the concessionaries were as he did what country it was that had refused to pay up after the Bering Sea arbitration had gone against it. The Manoa Company may not come to take its place in diplomatic history alongside the Shipherd claims, the Landrau claims, and the Balmaceda nitrate-beds, but it will be just as well to keep an eye on it.

The *Evening Post* of March 8, 1888, printed a letter from a correspondent on the subject of the concession to the Manoa Company, which it now reprints for its present interest. One fact of some importance is, that in 1888 Congressman McAdoo of New Jersey appeared as a champion of the Manoa Company. This individual is now Assistant Secretary of the Navy. An investigation of the volume of official correspondence between the British and Venezuelan governments printed by the latter, at Carácas, in 1887, discloses the following facts: An agreement had been reached in 1850 to consider the disputed territory, for the present, as no-man's land; that is, each party was to keep hands off until a settlement of some kind should be reached. The correspondence was continued in a very amicable tone until 1884, when the fact became known that Venezuela had conceded this very territory to an American concern called the Manoa Company, of which a certain Thomas A. Kelly was acting President, and that Mr. Kelly had taken possession of it to the extent of sending men on it to cut timber and erect a sawmill. It appears, also, that Kelly was invested with some kind of powers as a functionary of Venezuela. When the authorities of British Guiana learned these facts, the Superintendent of Crown Lands and Forests, Mr. McTurk, sent the following letter to Kelly:

"*Thomas A. Kelly, President Manager of Manoa Company:*

"I have the honor to inform you that you are now within the limits of British Guiana, and those of the district under my jurisdiction as one of the special magistrates and superintendents of crown lands and forests of this colony, and therefore you are outside your jurisdiction as a functionary of Venezuela. Whatever notification you should make to the inhabitants will be void, and all persons in this or any part of the colony, or visiting it, will have to conduct themselves in accordance with its laws. I must likewise call your attention to the notifications put upon the trees on the banks of this river as also on the rivers Waini and Barima. These notifications were fixed where they are by order of the Government of British Guiana."

The fixing of these notices was at once complained of by the Venezuelan Government as a violation of the agreement of 1850 to consider the territory neutral for the time being, the grant to the Manoa Company and the partial occupation of it by Kelly being absolutely ignored. Thus, on the 28th of July, 1886, Guzman Blanco, who was then the Venezuelan Minister in London, had the effrontery to write to Lord Rosebery complaining of the placing of the notices in the disputed territory, and even of the letters sent to Kelly by the authorities of British Guiana. Kelly or his underlings promptly removed the notices from the trees on which they were posted and sent them to Carácas. They made so complete a job of it that Mr. McTurk, the officer of British Guiana in charge of the district, could not find one there in April, 1885. Guzman Blanco coolly ignored the infringement of the bargain which was involved in the concession to the Manoa Company.

One of the letters in this correspondence is addressed by the Secretary of British Guiana to C. C. FitzGerald, Phœnix Building, No. 16 Court Street, Brooklyn, N. Y. It is dated October 25, 1884. It acknowledges receipt of documents from FitzGerald which were apparently intended to exhibit the title of the Manoa Company to the territory in question, and it notifies him that anybody trespassing on said territory will be prosecuted according to the laws of the colony. From FitzGerald's communication to the *Evening Post* on Saturday it appears that the Manoa Company, a New York corporation, hitherto unknown, holds a grant from the Venezuelan Government comprising a territory "almost as large as New England." Mr. FitzGerald contends that no part of it is within the limits of British Guiana, because the terms of the grant carry it only "to the limit of British Guiana." The naïveté of this argument is charming when we remember that the boundary line of the two countries has been a matter of dispute for half a century. The assumption of FitzGerald that he and Kelly and the other Manoans know where that boundary runs, while the authorities of British Guiana do not, shows that he holds a clue which the civilized world might give millions to possess. Possessing this secret, the Manoans went boldly forward and "properly removed" the notices posted by the authorities of British Guiana as warnings against trespassers. The trespassing, according to FitzGerald, was on the part of the British Government against "an American company" which, but for this interference with its rights, "would be in full operation to-day, giving employment to thousands of American citizens." Moreover, he tells us that, "thanks to the attitude of President Cleveland, it will now be possible to do business *under the American flag* in Venezuela without fear of future encroachment"; implying that this territory, almost as large as New England, has already been annexed to the United States by the determined action of President Cleveland and in virtue of Mr. Olney's views of the "sovereignty" of this country on the American continent. If this is the case, we shall expect FitzGerald and Kelly to be the first Senators from the State of Manoa, and we are glad to be assured that "they have no Populist or free-silver cranks and have no difficulty in maintaining a solid gold basis." We shall have more facts to present on this subject hereafter. Meanwhile we commend Mr. FitzGerald's letter to public attention in connection with "President Cleveland's attitude" and Olney's arguments on sovereignty, and the unanimous support given to all three by the American Congress.

THE JINGO AND THE MONEY MARKET.

NOTHING was to us more startling in Mr. Cleveland's last two messages than his remark, which we quoted last week, that patriotism was no substitute for a sound currency. Whether this was a conviction which had been forced on him by the events of the past few days, or whether he felt it necessary to remind Congress of it as a great financial truth, makes little difference. He really addressed himself to one of the most remarkable branches of Jingo insanity, namely, that which sees in the fall in the value of securities and the general disturbance of the money market, under the threat of war, the result either of a plot of foreign enemies against the republic or want of patriotism on the part of brokers. The Jingo's state of mind as regards foreign investors is by no means a product of his own experience of human nature. He would never himself think of selling his stocks and bonds at a heavy loss in order to spite some foreign nation. If you proposed to him, for instance, to go down to Wall Street and let his property go at seventy-five or fifty cents on the dollar in order to "bring England to her knees," he would treat it as a merry conceit. But when you suggest that this is what Englishmen are doing to annoy us, he sees nothing wonderful, much less incredible, in it. In fact, in all matters connected with patriotism he is as simple and credulous as a mediæval monk. When you begin to tell him marvellous stories of what the British financiers or the gold-bugs are capable of in the way of plots against America, or against silver or the greenbacks, far from crying, "Oh, come now," or "Hold on there," he says, "Tell me some more; what did they do next?" His view of the Wall Street brokers is somewhat different. Everything bad which occurs in Wall Street he thinks is due to either the timidity or want of patriotism of the brokers. When prices fall, he thinks either the brokers did it, or wickedly let it be done. It would take Dean Swift to deal adequately with the exhortations he addresses to them under these circumstances.

The fact is, that Wall Street is but the dial-plate on which the condition of the business of the country, especially in times of disaster, is recorded. Of course, the machine does not work this way every day; simple speculation often deranges it.

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But as a rule, and especially, as we have said, in seasons of depression, Wall Street records either the view which careful observers take of our financial future, or the fears and anxieties or distresses of those whose savings are invested in stocks and bonds of various descriptions. For what the brokers deal in is other people's property. Their action reflects the fears and hopes of these people—generally, in times like this, their fears. In fact, this dial-plate might in days of alarm fairly be called an agony-plate. Thousands sell because they fear prices are going still lower; others, because they fear a stoppage of dividends. But the real misery of a panic is to be found among the multitude who look on in silence, and see the value of of their savings rapidly diminish without any earthly means of preventing it, and who know that their credit and everybody's credit is being affected by it, that their bankers will call for more margin on their loans, or will refuse to make them any loans at all on any security they can offer, or among the dealers who hoped to get their bills renewed and know now that it will be impossible, or among the manufacturers who do not know now where the money for the next pay-day is to come from. So minute, and delicate, and far-reaching, in fact, is the machinery of modern trade and commerce that a general fall of securities in the Stock Exchange is sooner or later felt in every corner of the country and every branch of industry, however humble. Either people find they are no longer trusted as they were, or that they can afford less. In the one case they restrict their producing activity; in the other they restrict their purchases.

There has not been a panic here since 1857 the blame of which foolish people did not lay on "the brokers," and pronounce a "Wall Street flurry," which would be confined to Wall Street and would soon blow over. But not one of them has failed to search out all owners of property in every corner of the land. The waters of calamity flow silently into every creek and inlet, and bring home to everybody who has saved, and everybody who produces anything to sell, full knowledge of what destruction the folly or wickedness of rulers has wrought. Worst of all, the disaster does not pass by as an inundation. Confidence is a plant of slow growth, and confidence means credit, and, if shaken or cut down, it takes a good while to grow up again. Credit is the most wonderful invention of modern civilization. It means the belief of each man in the civilized world that the rest of the civilized world will keep its promises to do certain things on certain days. Of course, in order to build up this belief, a comparatively long period of experience is necessary. It has to be based on the testimony of years as to the ability and willingness of each man's neighbors and customers to do what they said they would do. Even when it is strongest and most secure, it is the most delicate and sensitive of human instruments. The slightest shock impairs it; the slightest sign of calamity or peril makes it melt away; but as long as it lasts it literally moves mountains. The statesman or ruler who does not think of this when shaping his policy or announcing his intentions, is and ought to be anathema. To disturb credit in the modern world without good cause is to declare one's self an enemy of mankind.

America is the one happy country in the world whose workable resources far surpass its disposable capital. We have not a quarter enough capital of our own to develop them. We are, therefore, compelled as a condition of material progress to get all we can from Europe. In sending her millions of emigrants here, she has also to send the money to employ them. Any one, therefore, who arrests this flow of European capital, or who frightens it away, is as much an enemy of the country as the invader who should block our railroads, trample down our wheat fields, and close our mines. Let him also be anathema. There is a class of Jingoes among us who have been and are to-day the curse of the Old World and a blot on our civilization, who maintain that the poor man ought to be glad to be out of work and see his children starving if his wages can be used in slaughtering the natives of some other country in defence of something which a small knot of gentlemen at the national capital choose to consider the "national honor." To hear much of the current talk which precedes a war, one would imagine that "national honor" was something that we could handle, taste, or cut in slices, whereas in nine cases out of ten it is nothing but a notion of the Bill Chandlers or Cabot Lodges, to which no one would listen for a moment if it related to his private affairs. Most wars originate in some concoction of a not very respectable brain. Hundreds of thousands perish that some stupid or wicked politician may be glorified.

THE COMMISSION.

On the 17th of December last the President sent in a message to Congress containing the following passage apropos of the Venezuela boundary:

"In order that such an examination should be prosecuted in a thorough and satisfactory manner, I suggest that the Congress make an adequate appropriation for the expenses of a commission to be appointed by the Executive, who shall make the necessary investigation and report upon the matter with the least possible delay. When such report is made and accepted, it will, in my opinion, be the duty of the United States to resist by every means in its power, as a wilful aggression upon its rights and interests, the appropriation by Great Britain of any lands, or the exercise of governmental jurisdiction over any territory, which, after investigation, we have determined of right belong to Venezuela."

And he added:

"In making these recommendations I am fully alive to the responsibility incurred, and keenly realize all the consequences that may follow."

This is as plain a declaration that war will follow the occurrence of certain contingencies as has ever been made by a ruler. It is a proposal to trace the boundary line between Great Britain and Venezuela, with or without British coöperation, and impose our finding on Great Britain by force. On its face it leaves Great Britain only one alternative, acceptance of a condition cast in the most insulting form, or war. Congress acted promptly on the President's suggestion, and passed the following act practically without discussion:

"Be it enacted by the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, that the sum of $100,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, be and the same is hereby appropriated for the expenses of a commission to be appointed by the President to investigate and report upon the true divisional line between the republic of Venezuela and British Guiana."

This is authority to the President to do what he proposed to do in the message, without modification.

As soon as this message was made public there was something like a panic in the money markets, and American securities were sold out in great quantities, and the business men, clergy, and professors, and thinking persons generally made a great outcry. The noisy Jingoes were frightened by the effect of their uproar on the finances, and ceased their applause of the President and ceased to talk of war as imminent. The word was passed around that "there would be no war"—some said because Great Britain would not fight, and others because "we should get out of it in some way"; and offers of service in the field ceased to come in.

Quiet having been in a measure restored on both sides of the water, the Jingoes and demi-Jingoes have, within a few days, begun to pick up courage, and to maintain that although "there will be no war," the President was right, etc. One of the most marked characteristics of the Jingo is that he lives in a fool's paradise, and he is consequently always astonished by the natural and inevitable consequences of his own folly. The only opinion he ever pays much attention to is that of his brother Jingoes. The world outside does not exist for him. In our belief he is now entering another period of false security, probably to be followed by another rude awakening, and we believe it for reasons that are not far to seek. In the first place, the President's message is a standing and very insulting threat to a first-class Power, which Lord Salisbury can overlook or pass over in silence as long as nothing is done under it. He may even ignore the creation of the Commission and ignore its work. But it is impossible that Great Britain will appear before it, or even furnish it with evidence, as long as the terms of its appointment remain unchanged. No ministry would dare to face the House of Commons which allowed a foreign Power to trace a boundary for it, under a threat, in territory which did not belong to the threatener. Conse-

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quently, unless we write another polite and therefore humiliating despatch abandoning the position taken in the message, the Commission will have before it only the mess of lies and braggadocio with which half-civilized States like Venezuela usually carry on controversies. If its members are first-class men, fit for such work, they will refuse to make any finding under such conditions. Supposing, however, they go on and decide that the British line is the correct one, the reflection on the President and Mr. Olney, and on the people who have been backing them up in this quarrel, ought to be too severe to be borne; and we trust it will be followed by a period of moral anguish such as is known only to the repentant sinner.

But supposing the Commission finds that Great Britain has been encroaching on Venezuela, and that the Venezuelan line is the true one, then we shall be bound, under the message, to fight Great Britain in all parts of the world, and to offer up our seaboard cities, our foreign and coasting trade, our customs revenue, and our currency as a sacrifice to Crespo, his cabinet, and his concessionaires, besides tens of thousands of lives, and to sow the seeds of fresh and endless international hates and animosities. Now we wish to warn the Jingoes, demi-Jingoes, and business men of the community, that they must not be talked into false security because the Jingoes have stopped "hollering," and are now shouting that "there will be no war." As long as this Commission exists, with the functions and consequences defined in the President's message, it will act as a cloud on the relations of the two countries, and as more than a cloud on the money market. There will be no return of confidence as long as it is at work, because the things dependent on its decision are too serious. If, however, experience—even their own—had any influence on Jingoes, we should remind them that they were all ready in 1892 to kill Chilians and bombard their cities for an offence which was disposed of by a few words of written apology. But suppose the Chilians had proposed on behalf of Great Britain to come up and trace the Alaskan boundary for us, and to compel us to arbitrate it with a threat of force, would a few words of apology have disposed of the matter? Why, even the Presbyterian Elder who at that time filled the Presidential chair would have taken the field in person.

Human nature in Great Britain is much what it is here. Our diplomacy is carried on so much by persons who are not trained in the use of diplomatic phrases and methods, and is so often mixed up with domestic politics, that European diplomatists usually pass by without notice expressions which between European nations would be considered highly offensive. What is peculiar about the present situation is that Messrs. Cleveland and Olney have, for the first time since 1812, injected into an international controversy what the diplomatists call a "mise en demeure," or a peremptory requisition to do a certain thing by a certain day or take the consequences. This is something which the diplomatists of the Old World avoid till the last moment—that is, until they have determined on war, and are quite ready for it. A European diplomatist who should resort to it with a first-class Power, and then keep saying, "Oh, there will be no war," would be run out of the country like Louis Napoleon or Émile Ollivier, and he would be served right. Nothing is more demoralizing to man or nation than the habitual use of empty threats. If the Jingoes want to preserve the respect of mankind, they will now face the consequences of their own conduct like men. They must not continue to applaud the President and at the same time assure us that there is no danger of war. As long as their Commission is in the field, there is danger of war which no prudent business man will overlook. The situation is too serious for any more jocose lying and "hollering." It ought to be faced with calm, and mended, if it can be mended now, before we have waded too far ever to go back. An explanatory despatch of some kind could still set matters right.

A DOOMSDAY BOOK DOOMED.

ITALY, December 11, 1895.

THE year 1895 seemed destined to close peacefully for Italy. With a large majority for the ministry, a decided disinclination to rake up old grievances or to exhume decayed scandals, a languid interest in the social reforms proposed for poor Sicily, a cheerful assent to the prolongation of the extra-legal coercion laws, approval of such ecclesiastical policy as shall prevent the Pope from infringing on the civil power, confidence that in Africa Baratieri will hold his own against Negus, Ras and Mahdists, satisfaction that the Italian fleet takes its place with England for the restraint of the unspeakable Turk—there seemed no cause that could produce excitement, still less agitation, in the country during the winter, which promises to be a most rigid one. But, on the 25th of November, when the Minister of the Treasury made his annual statement in the curt, dry manner which is Sonnino's own, he announced that the *catasto*, or stock-taking of the quantity, nature, and value of land in Italy, with the names of the present proprietors thereof, must be suspended, as 182,000,000 lire would be needed to complete it during the next thirty years, and, when completed, it would not answer any of the objects for which it was originally designed. Had a bomb fallen into each city, town, and village of northern and central Italy, the alarm could not have been greater or more general, and yet Sonnino had only expressed the private belief of a large portion of the Italians who have watched the process of compiling a new Doomsday Book ever since it commenced in 1886. That it is necessary to ascertain the amount and quality of land held by individuals, for the purposes of taxation and for adjusting its incidence, all admit theoretically, and the "how to do it" has been a moot question ever since Italy agitated and revolted in order to secure an independent national existence. In 1848 the Ligurians demanded a revision of the land-tax, and in 1860 the Lombards strenuously insisted on being delivered from the enormous burdens laid on the land by their Austrian oppressors; Venetia joining in the demand as soon as the Austrians quitted her territory. The exhaustive Agrarian inquiry initiated by Bertani, and carried out *con amore* by individuals qualified for the task, proved the inequality of the taxes paid not only in the different provinces, but also in different, though adjacent, communes of the same province.

The system of land surveys is as old as the hills in Italy. Servius Tullus introduced it into Rome, Gelon into Syracuse. Ulpian has handed down a fragment of the old Roman Doomsday Book where the size of an estate, its product and value, are recorded on the reports of the proprietors. When Italy was united, it was found that there were twenty-two registers compiled for the purposes of taxation, all different. The survey of the Milanese territory was made more than a hundred years ago; it shows the state of culture at that time, and the land-tax has been imposed from then till now on the data then furnished. The others were made for the most part at the commencement of the century, the latest thirty years ago. Still, half the surface of the country remains without a land survey of any kind. As the 25th article of the Constitution ordains that "all citizens shall contribute to the maintenance of the state in proportion to their property (real or personal)," Minghetti opined that no new tax could be equitably laid, or existing tax increased, until the land-tax had been equalized throughout the new kingdom. In 1860 the minister Vegezzi formally pledged the Government to adjust the incidence of land imposts in the following year, and in 1861 a commission was nominated to apply the speediest and most economical methods of ascertaining the value of the land and to equalize taxation. Various bills were presented, but the war of 1866 and the agitation for Rome during the following years prevented the completion of any such projects.

After the entry into Rome, Cambray-Digny and Sella applied themselves to the task; new bills were presented and all were shelved. When the Left came to power, the "perequazione" (equalization of the land-tax) formed a prominent feature of Depretis's Stradella programme. He proposed that the state, and not the communes, should bear the burden of the surveys. The examination, per province, of the taxes levied on land brought to light the enormous disproportion of the burdens; *e. g.*, the province of Leghorn paid .82 lire per head; Cremona 10.99, Lodi 11.99. The produce of the tax per hectare proves little, but when you come to the rate for every 100 lire of income derived from land, the glaring injustice is evident. The Sardinians paid 18.76, Venetian Lombardy 44.27, Sicily 17.12, the Modenese 79.29! At last, in 1885-'6, when Depretis and Magliani, who seemed to think Italy's pecuniary resources inexhaustible, and who framed the colossal railway network which has nearly suffocated the people in its meshes, were masters of the two houses, a law for the reorganization of the land-tax passed the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate and received the King's sanction. Throughout the kingdom a uniform cadastral estimative *catasto*, showing the quantity and quality, measure and value of every portion of land held, was to be made to ascertain the real estate and to equalize the land-tax; the property of each commune and of every individual was to

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be shown on separate maps. A special department dependent on the Finance Minister created technical and judicial commissions, and instituted central and provincial commissions; a regular hierarchy set to work on a task to which that of Sisyphus was a trifle. In valuing the land, no account was to be taken of special culture or high farming, or of partial or total neglect. The value of the land was to be estimated according to its actual production, each product being rated at its minimum price during three years between 1874 and 1885, and the difference between specie and paper money being taken into account. The revision of the land-tax was to take effect in thirty years. The provinces were to pay the expenses of the technical boards and of the provincial commissions, to furnish house-room, furniture, and fuel for the necessary offices; the communes to pay the cost of measuring and defining the boundaries of their respective territories, and to pay their local officers and agents for the publication and notifications necessary; the proprietors to pay the cost of measuring and defining the boundaries of their several estates. All the other expenses were to be borne by the Government. Such were the chief features of the famous bill, the framers not hesitating to fix 7 per cent. as the land-tax to be levied on the net income derived. It was provided that any province wishing to accelerate the operations and advancing half the expenses, should be allowed to do so, and, if the task was completed in seven years, should be allowed to apply the 7 per cent. rate provisionally. The Government would reimburse the provinces for their advances.

The debate on the bill was serious and animated. Venetian Lombardy, Modena, and other heavily taxed territories instructed their Deputies to support it, and at once demanded accelerated operations; but the opposition of the lightly taxed provinces was strong and cogent. Perfectly impartial persons maintained that while a land survey was necessary to ascertain the actual quantity under cultivation and the incidence of taxation, it was imprudent then and there to fix the rate to be applied. Agriculture, especially in Sicily and some of the Neapolitan provinces, was progressing; the low price of wheat, the enormous competition of America and Russia in those days when protection was heresy, had led many proprietors and even peasant farmers to plough up their fields and plant vines, especially when the phylloxera had destroyed so large a portion of the French vineyards, and the treaty of commerce with France was so favorable. Others declaimed against the injustice of estimating the value of the land by the actual produce, so that a landowner who had spent time, money, and intelligence in draining, manuring, and tilling his land would be highly taxed, whereas absentee owners of latifundia, or feckless farmers who had let their land run to waste and neglected its culture altogether, would come off lightly in direct ratio to their negligence. The members of the advanced Left opposed the whole project on financial grounds. Cairoli, Baccarini, and Crispi demonstrated that the bill as it stood would entail on the country hundreds of millions, and would occupy half a century, so that when the object was attained, when the quantity of land possessed by each individual with its net income in 1886 should be ascertained, such would be the transformation of agriculture—owing to scientific culture, amelioration of agricultural appliances, the variations in the nature and demand of foreign markets—that the rate of taxation paid in 1886 would be unjust and insupportable in the next century. The Marquis di Rudini, a large landowner of Sicily, then a pillar of the moderate church, joined in with the dissenters, prophesying that instead of equalizing the burdens the bill would double the inequalities, and produce a fatal regional agitation between the northern and southern provinces.

Crispi, on December 7, 1885, demonstrated the fallacy of the estimative *catasto*, admitting the wisdom of "taking stock of the true state of the great factor, land." The estimative operations, he said, will not result in equalizing the land tax, and, reviving painful memories, will arouse such distrust in the country as will prevent their being brought to a successful conclusion. The estimates as to the productive value of land will always be hypothetical, will never be able to fix the actual income subject to taxation; and when the operations are concluded, the real income from land will differ essentially from the official estimates. He returned to the charge in January, 1886:

"If, letting the value of produce and the estimate of income alone, confining yourselves to a cadastral survey of the land, you ascertain the amount of cultivable soil and the present owners thereof, you will have data which will enable you to arrive by other methods at an approximate system of equable taxation."

So ardent was the discussion that a yea-and-nay vote was insisted on, the Opposition being determined that their hostility to the bill should pass down to posterity. The majority voted for the Depretis-Magliani bill; the chief Liberals voted for Crispi's amendment. Operations were commenced with alacrity, and millions have been lavished during the last nine years. The project was modified in 1894, but it was clearly seen that the wheels were clogged and the machine would not work. Sonnino, on the 25th of November, quietly observed that, without taking into account the expenses devolving on the provinces and the communes, the state would have to spend 182 millions more, provided the work continued at its present slow rate, whereas the transformation of agriculture is so great that the estimates of 1886 no longer apply, so that the whole work ought to be accelerated to avoid further injustice. This the finances of the country do not permit. More than 7 millions have to be repaid to the provinces which have accelerated the cadastral survey; other 10½ millions for the estimates of value. The application of the fixed rate of 7 per cent. already reduces the land tax by more than 10 millions; *ergo*, increased expense, decreased income. Can we, he asks, continue on this perilous path? In some provinces the reform of the land tax will be effected in a few years; in others, thirty or thirty-five years may pass before it can be completed.

"Already," he continued, "the agricultural conditions of the country are transformed; the vine culture is in a deplorable state, owing to the cessation of the French market; wheat is again grown on a large scale, owing to the protective duties on foreign grain. Moreover, in the application of the law of 1886 intrusted to local bodies, the estimates presented by neighboring provinces are so diverse that it is evident they are neither true nor just. We must halt while there is yet time on this path that leads to ruin. The Minister of Finance will present a bill for the continuation of the cadastral survey, for the cessation of the estimative *catasto*, for the reimbursement to the provinces of the sums expended with 5 per cent. interest from the date of the advances. These sums amount to fourteen millions, the interest to two millions, which will be paid in seven years. The annual sum of three millions will be set aside for the cadastral survey; no term for its completion can be fixed."

Boselli, Minister of Finance, presented the draft of his bill in conformity with the speech of his colleague of the Treasury. Its provisions are, that the cadastral survey shall be completed first in the provinces which demand acceleration in the proceedings; in the Modenese territory the provinces will not be called upon to advance further sums, but will be repaid for all outlays in the past—the land tax to remain at its present incidence until another bill for estimating the actual value of product and the net income derived from it shall become law. All estimative valuations are to cease; those already made to have no immediate effect.

The sudden, violent agitation produced by this bomb raged for about a week, threatening to sunder the ministerial majority. Out of the nine offices, or committees, whose duty it is to examine ministerial or private bills, six rejected it *in toto*. The *Economista* of Florence had a furious article on the "iniquitous project." But already the agitation is calming down, and to this have contributed not a little some of the few survivors of the old Radical party, who have ever sought the true interests of the country, and not their own aggrandizement.

The suggestions for arriving by economical and expeditious methods at a general idea of the land-tax now paid on every 100 lire of net income are numerous. Two seem to us rational, if not original. G. B. of Ravenna proposes that the Government fix the sum to be exacted from the land in the form of a tax, nominate a commission to apportion the quota among the various agrarian regions, taking its data from the reports of the Agrarian inquiry; then, that the provincial and communal authorities proceed to the distribution of the sum total among the landed proprietors within the given districts, who must supply the details of their net income. The writer is of opinion that the work can be accomplished in two years. At present all the collectors of the land-tax have an approximate roll of the actual incomes of each landowner, which they take care to rectify if understated, so that to apportion the contribution of each with a view to make up the sum total does not seem an impossible achievement. Deputy Canzi, well versed in agricultural matters, who from the first opposed the estimative valuation, proposes to base the land-tax on the declarations of the respective landowners, after due examination and rectification. The venerable patriot Gabriele Rosa approves this proposal. The *Sole*, the best Milanese commercial and industrial newspaper, says that this system is gradually gaining the approval of landowners in Venetian Lombardy. Meanwhile, the parliamentary commission, with Luigi Luzzatti for President, is in daily communication with Sonnino and Boselli, whose latest proposals are to repay the sums advanced, to lessen by two millions the land-tax at present paid by the provinces which accepted the accelerated survey, to augment by 50 centimes the duty on the importations of foreign grain. As yet the ministers and the commission have not come to terms; but it is certain that Sonnino will resign rather than recede from his abolition bill, nor do we believe that any other ministers of the Treasury or of finance could be found who would dare to burden the country with the payment of 130 unproductive millions. The debate on the bill by the Chamber of Deputies will scarcely be entered on during the present year. J. W. M.

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THE THOMAS PAINE EXHIBITION IN LONDON.

LONDON, December 17, 1895.

IN following for five years the thread of Thomas Paine's life I found so many interesting relics strung on it, even through efforts to snap the thread as well as others to weave with it, that the idea of an exhibition occurred to me. After due consultation with men well informed in such studies—such as Edward Smith (biographer of Cobbett), Clair J. Grece, LL.D., George Jacob Holyoake, G. Julian Harney, Edward Truelove—a good working committee was formed and the exhibition occurred in South Place Chapel last week. It was successful beyond our expectations, the catalogue enumerating 485 exhibits and really representing more than 600; many tokens, manuscripts, etc., being included under one or another single label. In the evenings the exhibition took the form of a soirée; there were addresses from eminent men, and songs of the old period, some composed by Paine, were sung. Among the exhibitors were some eminent Conservatives; and among the exhibits were pamphlets, caricatures, and tokens hostile to Paine. On entering, there was seen on the platform Vago's large bust of Paine, and on either side death-masks of the chief antagonists, Burke and Paine. The fifty years extending from the publication of 'Common Sense' in 1776 to the last imprisonments for selling the 'Age of Reason' was represented by portraits of warriors whose swords were unsheathed to establish or to resist the 'Rights of Man,' and of writers whose pens were unsheathed for or against the 'Age of Reason.' The aim of the exhibition was purely historical, and entirely without any purpose of propagandism. It was recognized by all parties as a striking illustration of the distance England has travelled from the terrors and intolerance of the Georgian era. Survivals of ancient prejudices are so few that out of fifty exhibitors only one, in a remote corner of Cumberland, asked to be anonymous, "not knowing how far the arm of bigotry may reach," and we tried in vain to get a contemporary tract against Paine. After the exhibition was over, a dingy leaflet was sent, not as a curiosity but for pious admonition to those in danger of believing with "Paine and other Infidels that there is NO GOD," the rest of the single page being occupied with arguments for the divine existence, of which every one is taken from Paine's 'Discourse on the Existence of God.' Such are the microscopic remnants of a period when the attempt to hold any such display as this of last week would have ended in the whole crowd finding accommodation in Newgate.

South Place Chapel was a good point from which to get historical perspective of the hundred years' history. In 1795 the Society's founder, Rev. Elhanan Winchester, replied to Paine's 'Age of Reason,' but politely; in 1796 his ministerial successor wrote an introduction to Winchester's reply, but made a large concession to Paine's position; in 1819 Vidler's successor, W. J. Fox, denounced the imprisonment of Carlile for selling the 'Age of Reason' (the only minister who did so); and now the Society built up by those men has given an exhibition which displays them all, agitators and antagonists, prisoners and imprisoners, as performers in a drama now memorable as an experience and an instruction in the laws of political and ethical evolution.

The literary exhibition was large. Except that there was no first edition of Paine's pamphlet 'Dissertations on Government, the Affairs of the Bank, and Paper Money' (Philadelphia, 1786), and only the second 'Crisis' (original), which was given me by Mr. Horace White of New York, all of Paine's first editions were exhibited. There was a sermon on the Existence of Deity, headed with a text and ending with a prayer, made up with slight alterations from the 'Age of Reason' (Paine's name removed, of course), which was circulated in England as a religious tract at the very time that booksellers were in prison for selling the book with Paine's name on it. Another tract is made out of his address to the Theophilanthropists in Paris (1797), with nothing removed but the names of the society and Paine. The many answers to Paine (Watson, Wakefield, Tytler, Levi, Priestley, and a score of others) showed that the 'Age of Reason' was taken very seriously by the scholars and scientists of his time. Among the autographs was a letter of Paine's describing his being shot at in his house at New Rochelle (exhibited by Dr. Grece), and a number (including the memorial to Monroe written in Luxembourg prison) exhibited by Mr. Alfred Morrison, whose collection is of almost corresponding value in European history to that of Mr. W. F. Havemeyer of New York in Americana. A very interesting letter was exhibited by our anonymous "Friend," written to his grandfather (England) by the widow of Elihu Palmer, under date, "New York, Sept. 3, 1806." After speaking of her husband's sudden death, she says:

"Of course, I am left poor indeed. I have been exceedingly distressed for the means of living. I had to sell my furniture to pay my rent the first of May, was in very bad health, and really tired of my life. But my prospects and condition are now altered for the better. Mr. Thomas Paine had a fit of apoplexy on the 27th of last July, and as soon as he recovered his senses he sent for me, and I have been with him ever since. And I expect if I outlive him to be heir to part of his property. He says I must never leave him while he lives. He is now comfortable, but so lame he cannot walk nor get into bed without the help of two men. He stays at Mr. Carver's. Mr. Paine sends his best respects to you and all your family."

This was written to Robert Taylor of Manchester, and with it was shown a silhouette of Paine, no doubt sent by Mrs. Palmer, as it is in the same paper frame with one of her husband. It represents Paine in extreme age, and shows the great length of his head. The portrait of Palmer is the original (colored) of that engraved in Fellows's sketch of his life, along with Palmer's 'Principles of Nature.' He holds a staff, used after he became blind, and over the picture is engraved a quatrain, of which I could make out only two lines:

"Though shades and darkness cloud his visual ray,
The mind unclouded feels no loss of day;
In Reason's ——"

Eleven different portraits of Paine were shown (one on a tea-tray with Washington, Franklin, a printing-press, and an eagle), and a large screen was covered with portraits of his friends and opponents in America, England, and France, Franklin and Lafayette being well represented, through the assistance of Mr. B. F. Stevens. Manchester College, Oxford, loaned Price and Priestley, and their librarian, Miss Toulmin Smith, a fine portrait of Gilbert Wakefield, who, in his reply to Paine, paid a warm tribute to his personal character. Mr. Henry Willett of Arnold House, whose collection of pottery is deposited in the Brighton Museum, sent interesting specimens of political pottery, among them a quart jug with a flattering figure of Paine on one side, and on the other (in allusion to Burke's phrase, "the swinish multitude") Paine as one of a herd of swine to which he says:

"Ye pigs that never went to college,
You must not pass for pigs of knowledge."

A large number of political coin-tokens were exhibited by Mr. Edward Snelling, and still more by Mr. A. W. Waters, a young butcher in Old Kent Road, who is one of the most learned men in London in historical tokens. These coins (pence, halfpence, farthings) were struck by private persons, the Government not issuing enough for trade needs. Under George II. and III. no copper coin was issued between 1754 and 1770, or between 1775 and 1797. During the latter interval these coins were utilized as political tokens, some showing Paine on the gibbet, others Pitt in the same predicament. The Federalist cry in America of "the two Toms" (Paine and Jefferson) seems to have been borrowed from "the three Toms" of some of these tokens. These were Tom Paine, Tom Spence (a Radical bookseller who coined anti-Tory tokens), and Sir Thomas More. It appears to me so curious that the Tories of Paine's time should go back to the early sixteenth century for a typical rebel against royalty, that I incline to believe their third "Tom" was an Anglicized rendering of Thomas Muir. Muir was an Edinburgh barrister who, when the French Convention was formed, and before the Reign of Terror, got up in Edinburgh a convention in imitation of it (but opened with prayer). He was banished for fourteen years, but escaped from Botany Bay and found his way to Paine (in Paris), who helped to support him.

There were photographs of Paine's birth-house in Thetford, of his residence in Lewes, and of his house in New Rochelle. There was also a photograph of No. 7 Upper Marylebone Street, London, which has been identified by the vestry clerk of Marylebone as the house in which Paine resided with his friend and publisher, "Clio" Rickman, in 1792. This house is unchanged; the old bookshelves are still in the walls, and the bookbinding part of Rickman's business has steadily continued in it, there having been, I believe, only one binder (Howe) between Rickman and the present aged Mr. Thomas. Thirty of the first editions which I exhibited, mostly of Paine's works, were bound in this house, where many of them were originally printed, and where several of them were written. The venerable bookseller, Edward Truelove, recently retired from business, brought to the exhibition a little mahogany table, in the centre of which was the following: "This Plate is inscribed by Thomas Clio Rickman in Remembrance of his dear Friend, Thomas Paine, who on this table, in the year 1792, wrote several of his invaluable Works." This table, of which an engraving with other articles of the exhibition appears in the *Sketch* of last week, seemed to bring us very close to Paine in England, while the Diaries of John Hall, who resided with Paine at Bordentown, brought us entries of his daily life in America. (These were sent by Dr. Dutton Steele of Philadelphia, Hall's relative.)

Amid all these things was a little dried substance shown under glass by Mr. Louis Breeze, beside it a little certificate of authenticity from B. Tilly, William Cobbett's secretary. It is a part of Paine's brain. This bit of the "imperial Cæsar" of last-century radicalism, "dead and turned to clay," quaint relic of that brain whose every word a hundred years ago made thrones tremble, stirred one of the speakers (Allanson Picton, ex-M.P.) to eloquence.

But I must remember the importance of your space to the latter part of the nineteenth cen-

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tury, and not ask your readers to ramble with me farther among these relics of the eighteenth century, even though under the breath of intelligence these dry bones regain life and significance in the present time.

MONCURE D. CONWAY.

Correspondence.

THE MAIN QUESTION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In your excellent issue of December 19 you say:

"For what do obedience to the law and reliance on the law mean if not the surrender of one's own will, the concession to others of the power of deciding disputes in which one knows one is right?"

Very true; and at this particular juncture many people will apply it to Lord Salisbury's refusal to submit his case to the decision of others, even though he may be absolutely sure that within the Schomburgk line he is clearly within his irrefutable rights. True, he is not herein amenable to courts that can enforce their decrees; but there is the forum of enlightened and Christian opinion, which we trust will make war more and more impossible between civilized countries. I am not arguing that he ought to have submitted the matter to arbitration—especially to a nation that came at him with bristles up—but your weighty sentence will be applied to this case by very many of your readers.

As to the President's motives. Has he not shown his sturdy integrity and unfaltering courage too often for us to assume that all this was done as a political scheme for a renomination? Has he not deserved too well of the republic to be arraigned on such a terrible charge? It seems to me that he has. And while very many of his enthusiastic admirers have to cut loose from him now on this policy, we need not go to the extreme of accusing him of a crime so heinous.

The best we can say for him is bad enough; but that need go no further than to dissent from and strenuously oppose his new doctrine. The writer had sincerely hoped to vote for him as our next President; but all that is gone now. Moreover, he has, I take it, lost the support of the *Herald;* for it can hardly continue to favor his renomination after saying in its editorial of Friday, December 20, that the Monroe Doctrine applies to the present case only by the most "mischievous and violent stretching."—Yours respectfully,

SOUTHERNER.

[There can, in international dealings, be no obedience to a law which does not exist, and the nations have never yet agreed to formulate the cases in which they will rely on arbitration to the exclusion of the very thought of war. To promote such an agreement in the existing state of civilization, efforts to secure arbitration in any given instance must be limited to friendly advice with purely moral insistence. No nation, by its behavior after arbitration had imposed definite obligations upon it, has more disqualified itself for thus helping on the cause of arbitration than has the United States; and this is what makes the present situation a tragi-comedy.

Mr. Cleveland's motives we leave for time to reveal. His political opponents in Congress notoriously regarded his action as a partisan manœuvre, which they could foil only by rushing madly to the support of it. In other words, the Republican Congress, like the nation at large, did not really want war with England. This explanation, strange to say, does something to redeem the national character. But then, what did Mr. Cleveland really want? Was it war buncombe which the House is now following up with tariff-for-revenue buncombe?—ED. NATION.]

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Although I esteem the *Nation* very much, I cannot refrain from telling you that your paper, in my opinion, has done more to necessitate a war with England than all our Jingoes combined.

The influence of the *Nation* is far greater in England than in this country. Being read exclusively by very intelligent and highly educated people, the English statesmen are compelled to presume that the opinions and judgments published by it are those held by the American people. For, in England, the classes of society corresponding to the circle of your readers control the Government. They will, therefore, think that all steps taken by the American Government, the message of Cleveland, etc., concerning the Venezuelan controversy are but campaign tricks, especially as they are used to similar manœuvres in their own elections. Consequently, they will treat the demands of the United States in such a way as suddenly to be confronted with the necessity either of sacrificing their personal and national honor and prestige or going to war.

As a matter of fact, as soon as the question of war—and of war against England—arises, you are perfectly powerless. Since we have waged, during the first century of our national existence, four wars, our history is a history of war. Young America leaves school and enters life with two impressions, that England is our hereditary foe, and that the greatest thing a man can do is to fight for one's country. Besides, a very considerable portion of our people, almost one-third, is of Irish descent and looks upon a war with England as a holy war. The greatest inducement, however, is that war brings not only honor, but also pensions. For these reasons more than nine-tenths of all Americans, women included, will seize with the greatest enthusiasm the first pretext for a war against England.

We may be sorry for this state of affairs, but we have to recognize it if we try to preserve peace. Whoever strengthens and confirms Great Britain in her resistance to fair and just demands on the part of the United States unchains the dogs of war.

In the Venezuelan controversy you not only represented the people of the United States as a peace-loving nation, but also did everything to convince the Englishmen of the justice of their claims against Venezuela. They must say: "Why should we submit to arbitration? All intelligent Americans are with us. They tell us that, even if the land occupied by us originally belonged to Venezuela and not to us, we nevertheless ought to hold it, because we enjoy a higher state of civilization than the Venezuelans." That such presumptions and ideas will not render the British statesmen more fair and engaging in their responses to the notes of our Government goes without saying. As a kind of umpire you might have shown from the beginning the weakness and the danger of the English position. By weakness I mean the apparent injustice in their dealings with Venezuela. The danger consists in the awakening of the war spirit in America—for it is certain that England in such a war has nothing to gain, but much to lose.

Yours respectfully, WM. WEBER.

BELLEVILLE, ILL., December 24, 1895.

[We commend our correspondent's portrait of the American people to whom it may concern.—ED. NATION.]

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I have read every number of the *Nation* since I first subscribed for it in 1872, but it has never elicited my esteem and admiration more than it has done by its righteous indignation and protest against the war "craze" now possessing the American people and their rulers. I heartily sympathized with the contempt the *Nation* expressed for the political prayer of the new Congressional chaplain, and with the wish of your correspondent, Rev. A. A. Berle, that the chaplaincy be abolished as a sacrilegious nuisance.

It has pleased Providence to teach some nations only in the bitter school of experience the lessons of righteousness and common sense; and it may be that the "bumptious" conceit of Americanism will be relieved, and its foolish delusions dispelled, by the disastrous consequences of a war with England, in which we should lose far more than England, and gain nothing. Egyptian and Indian cotton would more than ever supplant our Southern staple in European countries; their planters would get from ten to fifty cents for their cotton, our planters could not get more than three or four cents for theirs. Our exports of all kinds would cease, for they are mostly carried in English vessels. We should be helpless to prevent England supplying itself with all the cereals it needed from Argentina, Russia, and Hungary, not to speak of Canada. By the time one of our "commerce-destroyers" (the very name indicative of mediæval barbarism) crossed the Atlantic to attack England's commerce, her bunkers would be depleted of coal and she would lie, a helpless hulk, at the mercy of her enemies. England has coaling-stations and war-vessels everywhere; we have no coaling-stations, and our few war-vessels would have to protect our own exposed coasts. So clearly in the wrong are we that we could not count upon the sympathy or coöperation of a single European nation. The more we consider the numerous questions raised by the possibility of war between Great Britain and ourselves, the more are we astonished at the fatuity of those who are egging it on.

The sentiments expressed by the *Nation* in discussing this question seem so like those I expressed in an impromptu speech made in the session of the National Educational Association at Toronto in 1891, that I take the liberty of cutting them out of the Journal of Proceedings and sending them to you. The question discussed was whether we teachers should celebrate a "Patriots' Day" and encourage Jingoism:

"True patriotism is the endeavor to elevate my country's standard of honor up to that which is right and true, and I should love my country for that in her which is devoted to righteousness. I should love the truth and righteousness which God has given us, and seek to bring my country up to it. I am not to make patriotism, therefore, the end, but rather the means by which I may hope to

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bring the nation to a love of truth, to a love of righteousness. I do not think the observance of any Patriots' Day will ever attain that result. The time wasted or spent in that could be better spent in educating the young men in those moral truths and principles which will make the citizen seek that which will be for his country's highest good; hence it is not patriotism in itself we are striving to attain, but it is love of truth, of right and righteousness. Patriotism *is nothing more than this; that is* the highest patriotism."

WM. R. ATKINSON.

S. C. COLLEGE FOR WOMEN, COLUMBIA, S. C.

NEGRO FOLK-LORE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In your recent review of Prof. Edwards's 'Bahama Songs and Stories,' I was interested in seeing the persistence of an old formula for closing a story,

"E bo ban, my story's en',"

which is, with apparent probability, traced back to an ancient English form,

"Be bow bended, my story's ended."

I may add to this that, when a boy in Virginia, I was familiar with a similar expression, invariably used in stories partaking of the marvellous, which ran, in atrocious rhyme,

"Be bo bum, my story's done."

C. DE K.

ROLLA, Mo., December 27, 1895.

Notes.

MACMILLAN & Co. have in press 'The King's Peace,' by Mr. Inderwick, Q.C., in the Social England Series, 'The Spraying of Plants,' by E. G. Lodeman of Cornell University, 'Alternating Currents and Alternating Current Machinery,' by Prof. Dugald C. Jackson of the University of Wisconsin, and 'Brown Heath and Blue Bells,' by William Winter; and in preparation a translation, by Dr. W. B. Shober of Lehigh University, of Dr. Ludwig Gattermann's 'Die Praxis des Organischen Chemikers,' and a new edition of Sir Thomas Browne's 'Hydriotaphia, and the Garden of Cyrus,' edited by the late Dr. Greenhill.

David Nutt, London, announces 'Greek Folk-Poesy,' being annotated translations from the whole cycle of Romaic folk-verse and folk-prose, edited by J. S. Stuart-Glennie, who also contributes an introduction on the science of folk-lore, and a conclusion on the survival of paganism. There will be two volumes, for the prose and verse respectively.

'Old Faiths and New Facts,' by W. W. Kinsley, will shortly be published by D. Appleton & Co.

W. B. Clive, 65 Fifth Avenue, is about to issue 'Inductive Logic,' by J. Welton, M.A., lecturer on Education in the Victoria University.

That dialectical differences in the language of a nation may lead to practical difficulties, is illustrated by the circumstances which have induced the Allgemeiner Deutscher Sprachverein to offer two prizes for essays on the naming of plants. Some of the common plants of Germany bear more than a hundred different names in the various parts of the country, and the want of a generally recognized popular denomination has made itself felt in the schools, where botany forms an important and attractive branch of study. A thorough discussion of the whole subject, and especially of the principles according to which names should be selected, is to be the task of the essayists.

The *Almanach de Gotha* for 1896 (Gotha: Perthes; New York: Westermann) has been kept within bounds, partly by the ingenious device of omitting from the genealogical portion such families as have been slack in returning their proofs to the editor. This rod will regularly be held over the delinquent hereafter. On the other hand, the editor enlists in his behalf as purveyors of information the attachés of embassy or legation, who have never before been honored by being named in the diplomatic lists, though in the European service at least their turn is assured of ultimately becoming secretaries and chiefs. The colonial world has been yet more carefully described, as one may see by reference to Italy's African possessions, now in so much peril. The four portraits embrace President Faure, Prince Hohenlohle-Schillingsfürst, Chancellor of the German Empire, and the Duke and Duchess of Aosta—she that was the Princess of Orleans.

'Hazell's Annual' for 1896 (London: Hazell, Watson & Viney) deserves the customary commendation for its useful contents, arranged both on the dictionary plan and to a certain extent in classes; see, for example, the more than fourteen pages given under Engineering to railways, canals, sewers, harbors, dams, bridges—the Boston subway, the Bournemouth Undercliff Drive, the Niagara utilization, the Manchester water-supply, the Simplon Tunnel, etc. The personal and statistical information displayed in this "cyclopædic record of men and topics of the day" is of the most extensive and varied character, and will supplement any book of reference of its kind. There are several new maps possessing timely interest.

Mr. William Tallack, the Secretary of the Howard Association of Great Britain, has prepared an enlarged edition of his well-known work, 'Penological and Preventive Principles,' which is published in London by Wertheimer, Lea & Co. For thirty-seven years Mr. Tallack has, through his connection with the Howard Association, been in a position to observe not only the opinions of those accustomed to deal with criminals, but also the practical working of many different systems and theories of reformation and punishment. While the differences, both practical and theoretical, that prevail in these matters are notorious, there has been much progress made toward unity of methods, and in some directions practical unanimity has been attained. Certain readers, as Mr. Tallack admits, will deem his frequent references to the influence of Christianity to be irrelevant. We do not find ourselves of this number, but at all events such references may be omitted by readers who dislike them, and the chief substance of the book will remain unaffected. On the whole, we are not acquainted with any book better adapted to the use of those who are interested in the study of the modern methods of repressing crime.

We are glad to see that Dr. William Smart of the University of Glasgow has published (through Macmillan) a collection of his essays; the title of the volume being 'Studies in Economics.' The author is perhaps best known by his work in translating and expounding the theories of the Austrian economists, but these essays show that his own capacity as a thinker is of a high order. Whatever opinion we may entertain of the Austrian theory of value, we can say that it has no particular effect on the discussion of the problems here considered, which are in the main of a practical nature. The chief topics are the problem of wages in various aspects, the relation of prices to general production and to that of gold, and the economic results of different modes of consumption. We have not recently had the pleasure of examining any economic treatise in which the reasoning was more consecutive or more exempt from fallacy; and the spirit in which contentious matter is handled is worthy of the science developed by Smith and Ricardo and Mill.

Prof. Ewald Flügel of the Stanford University has just issued the first volume of his 'Neuenglisches Lesebuch' (Halle: Niemeyer; New York: Westermann). The volume is devoted to the time of Henry VIII., and contains about 350 large pages of text and some 250 pages of notes and indexes. The contents are selected on the basis of a remarkably thorough knowledge of the period and with excellent judgment. They embrace every kind of literature, religious and secular, in prose and in verse. When extracts only have been printed, these are usually long enough to give the student a good idea of the style and character of the whole work. In this respect the editor has followed the excellent example of Mätzner's highly esteemed 'Altenglische Sprachproben.' The texts of the manuscripts or of early printed editions are reproduced with scrupulous accuracy. The notes, though necessarily uneven, contain much valuable information. No one who understands the importance of this transition period of English literature—a period commonly neglected on account of the inaccessibility of the materials for its study—can fail to feel profound satisfaction that so competent a scholar as Prof. Flügel has been willing to subject himself to the great labor of making such a book. The 'Reader' will at once take its place as an indispensable part of the outfit of every student of our language or literature.

A translation of the third German edition of Prof. Menshutkin's 'Analytical Chemistry" has been made by Mr. James Locke, and is published by Macmillan & Co. The work which is thus made available to American and English students of chemistry is entirely worthy of their attention. It covers both qualitative and quantitative analysis, including under the latter short sections on volumetric and organic analysis. The treatment differs from that of many works on this subject in possessing a distinct pedagogic value. It is not a "cook-book." Discussion of the methods of analysis and of the theory of the reactions which are involved, and the absence of analytical tables, stimulate independent thought and work, and lead the student to a broader understanding of chemistry. Analytical chemistry has been (and is still) too often taught in colleges as if it were an end in itself, to the neglect of its larger educational possibilities. A certain degree of accuracy in manipulation and ability to execute correctly a certain range of analytical work according to set schemes is acquired; but too little stress is laid on the development of power to grapple with new problems. Menshutkin's point of view is indicated by this extract from his introduction: "Analytical chemistry teaches the art of *chemical thought*, which is the most important object of practical work. . . . Mechanical study affords no benefit whatever." We heartily recommend this book to the careful examination of all teachers of analytical chemistry. Mr. Locke's translation is fairly good.

We have already reviewed in these columns Prof. George L. Raymond's 'Art in Theory,' and commented, not very favorably, on his doctrines. In 'Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture as Representative Arts' (Putnams),

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he develops these doctrines more in detail, but it cannot be said that he strengthens his presentation of them. Of course, many things stated here are true, but there are as many more that are untrue, and the reasons given for the true things do not commend themselves as just. The author's knowledge of art is evidently purely theoretical and derived from reading only, and he makes blunders that are truly amazing. A single one must serve as an example. On page 41 is to be found this statement: "In drawing and painting, shading is usually produced through the use of lines either in black or in color, which, for this purpose, are either abruptly or gradually lessened in number or intensity." This is so completely wrong, and shows such entire ignorance of the arts under discussion, that it dispenses the serious critic from the necessity of further consideration of the writer. The book is lavishly illustrated with 200 odd cuts, raked together from all sorts of sources and nearly all bad.

The *Portfolio* for November is devoted, for once, to a purely modern subject, the recent 'Renaissance of Sculpture in Belgium.' Its author, Georges Destrée, is, we take it, himself a Belgian, and, for a guess, a Walloon, and patriotic impulses are perhaps discernible in his enthusiasm; but whether or not modern Belgian sculpture is, as he would seem to intimate, the modern school of sculpture *par excellence*, it is only necessary to glance at the excellent illustrations he gives us to convince one's self that it has produced a series of most vital and interesting works. Here are half-a-score of artists whose very names will be new to most of us, and every one of them is a man of power and originality, whose work one may conceivably dislike, but must surely admire. Mr. Destrée writes in French, and the translation, seemingly excellent, has been done by Miss Florence Simmons.

Mr. F. Adolphus has put together his reminiscences of life in the French capital for more than forty years in a pleasant little volume, which he has entitled 'Some Memories of Paris' (Henry Holt & Co.). The most noteworthy chapters deal with the agony of the great city in 1870-71. A vivid description is given of the last day of the Second Empire, together with the account of the distribution of the English gifts of food to the Parisians after the siege, the narrative of an eye-witness of the entry of the Germans into the conquered city, and a record of personal experiences during the Commune. Mr. Adolphus seems to have had excellent opportunities for observing what was going on during these critical months, and to have kept his eyes open to the dramatic possibilities of his surroundings. He was with Laurence Oliphant, at that time correspondent of the *Times*, when the Germans entered Paris, and seems to have been on intimate terms with that erratic man of genius. Oliphant left Paris, so Mr. Adolphus tells us, after a narrow escape from a bullet on the day of the outbreak of the Commune, in the belief that the bullet brought him a message from Prophet Harris that he was to return at once to America. But in the middle of June, 1871, Oliphant returned, accompanied by Harris, who described the Commune as "a yell from the lower man; an up-seething from the turbid sources; a snatch at the impossible and the undefined; a failure where success would have meant a nation's shame" (p. 177).

'Europe in Africa in the Nineteenth Century,' by Elizabeth W. Latimer (Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co.), is an account, both too diffuse and too brief at times, of the events which have led to the partition of Africa. It is illustrated by a number of portraits and some rude but serviceable maps.

'The Fishes of Sinaloa,' by Prof. D. S. Jordan of Stanford University, is a reprint of 137 pages and 28 plates from vol. v. (second series) of the Proceedings of the California Academy of Science. The paper will be very useful in the study of our West Coast fishes. A large number of species are described and figured. The work would be much more convenient and helpful for reference if the date and place of publication had been added to the name of the describer of each species. These slight additions cost a writer but little trouble, and in saving the time and labor of investigators contribute greatly to the advancement of science.

The Report of the United States National Museum for the year ending June 30, 1893, is a bulky octavo of nearly 800 pages, with a large number of plates and other drawings. It contains the report of Prof. G. Brown Goode, and reports and special papers by a number of his assistants. Prof. Goode's report is an able presentation of the history, present status, and possibilities of the Museum, and of museum development in general. The numerous illustrations give a good idea of the cases, mountings, labels, arrangement, etc., accepted at the time as best adapted to their purposes. The majority of the special papers are ethnological, the most extensive being "Notes on the Ethnology of Thibet," by W. W. Rockhill, profusely illustrated. A paper of much interest to the ornithologist is that of Maj. Charles Bendire on the "Cow Birds." "The Poisonous Snakes of North America," by Leonhard Stejneger, is a work of great general as well as special interest. The author has gone deeply into the literature of the subject in all its bearings. His summaries of what is known of habits, distribution, anatomy, venom, remedies, etc., are comprehensive, the average of the many illustrations is good, and his descriptions and comparisons from the Museum's collections are admirable. It is matter of regret that in a work of so much excellence the synonymy is not entirely complete, and that apparently several of the snakes are not mentioned.

M. Paul Verlaine has given to the world, through the publishing department of the *Fin du Siècle*, a small volume of 'Confessions,' which cover the period of his life from his birth, at Metz, in 1844, to his meeting with Arthur Rimbaud, at the end of 1871. They are not very startling, and are pleasantly written. His description of his college life and examinations for the *baccalauréat*, and his account of his early poetic efforts, are interesting; but the real Verlaine is, after all, to be sought for in his works.

M. E. Lintilhac has put into book form, under the title 'Les Félibres—à travers leur monde et leur poésie' (Paris: Lemerre), the articles he wrote on this subject for the *Temps*. They are well worth preserving, and in their present form are infinitely more useful. The literature which is here treated of has an interest and value of its own, apart from the attention which it merits as a revival of a once rich and flourishing branch of the national literature of France. The work of Aubanel is studied most fully by M. Lintilhac.

M. René Doumic has already made a name for himself as a critic of weight. His latest book is not up to his former productions, however, and is rather ephemeral in character. 'La Vie et les mœurs au jour le jour' (Paris: Perrin & Cie.) is simply a collection of articles, very bright and vivacious, and nearly all based upon a thought, occasionally a serious one, but scarcely worth putting together into more permanent form. They are witty, sarcastic, keen, and help to pass an hour enjoyably. This much praise may freely be given.

The Paris *Journal des Débats* announces that, beginning with the new year, its two editions, of morning and evening, adopted three years ago, will be abandoned. Hereafter there will be but one edition, in the evening, with the familiar pink color retained. The dimensions of the paper will be enlarged to rival the greatest yet adopted by the French press. In all other respects the character of this sober and civilizing journal will remain unchanged.

When Edmond Biré was engaged upon his volumes on Victor Hugo, he had access to the manuscript of Adolphe Jullien's 'Le Romantisme et l'Éditeur Renduel,' to which, as some readers may remember, he refers in several of his foot-notes. Out of consideration for persons still living, this work has hitherto been withheld from publication. But now the *Revue des Deux Mondes* (December 1) publishes a first instalment from it under the above title and the sub-title, "Eugène Renduel et Victor Hugo." The pages are interesting, but contain nothing important concerning the literature of the epoch. Hugo's character appears here in much the same light as that to which Biré has accustomed us. Renduel was the publisher and friend of many of the most noted writers of the Romantic period, and, as all his papers and books have fallen into M. Jullien's hands, we may expect much from the latter's divulgences.

Several astronomical articles of interest appear in recent numbers of *Knowledge*. Variable red stars are treated by Dr. Brester of Delft, and the question "What is a nebula?" is again raised, this time by Mr. E. W. Maunder of the Royal Observatory, who gives answers as satisfactory as possible in the present state of information on this significant subject. The second and third of Mr. Stewart's articles on spectrum analysis appear, and an account of new stars by Dr. Brester, as well as a very interesting article by Miss Clerke on the exterior nebulosities of the Pleiades, followed by a note upon the same subject by Prof. Barnard, late of the Lick Observatory. With the beginning of the new volume for 1896, *Knowledge* will revert to its original title, "An Illustrated Magazine of Science, Literature, and Art," which it bore when Mr. Proctor founded it fifteen years ago. Although this implies a wide field, it is hoped that the magazine will not fail of filling it, and of affording its readers even greater interest in the future than in the past.

Some interesting facts as to the recent progress of Bolivia in building railways, post-roads, and telegraph lines, taken from the Chilian Minister's report to his Government, are given in *Petermann's Mitteilungen* for November. It contains also a discussion of the proper position for the provisional boundary-stone between Chili and the Argentine Republic, a question in which Bolivia and Peru are likewise interested. The distribution and religion of the various non-German races in the German Empire are shown upon an admirably colored and shaded map.

Capt. Lugard's account of his Borgu expedition, in the *Scottish Geographical Magazine* for December, is noteworthy for its vigorous denunciation of the liquor traffic in West Africa and his hearty advocacy of the Hausa Association. This has been formed to promote the study of the Hausa language, which is used

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largely by the Moslems of the western Sudan. It is taught in their schools—the Arabic alphabet being used in writing it—and it has the rudiments of a literature. A grammar and dictionary of the language has been compiled, and a translation of a part of the Gospel of St. Matthew is already in print. The magazine also contains some notes, historical and geological, on Vancouver Island.

Signor Anderson (Rome: Spithöver) has been of late greatly increasing the debt owed him by all students of Italian art. He has made a reproduction approaching the original in size of Giorgione's "Soldier and Gypsy"; a reproduction the more valuable now that, thanks to the ridiculous pretensions upon private art-property made by the Italian Government, the Giovanelli Palace is absolutely inaccessible. At Parma, Signor Anderson has photographed everything of interest. We need not speak of Parma's greatest treasures, its many Correggios; but the gallery contains unrivalled Cimas as well, and one of Sebastiano del Piombo's grandest works, a portrait of Clement VII., in itself worth all the biographies of that astute and fascinating Medici. In or near Parma are also to be found some of the finest works of Parmigiano, the most genuine and therefore the most lovable of décadents.

The Gallery of Modena was for twenty years unhung. At last it has been admirably arranged, and Signor Anderson has photographed its many interesting works. There, better than anywhere else, the Ferrara-Bolognese school can be studied; but the glory of Modena is its many masterpieces by Dosso Dossi, a most fascinating artist, hitherto almost undiscovered. Symonds is the only writer of note who has made so much as a passing mention of Dosso, whose "Jester" he greatly admired. This "Jester," even in the photograph, reveals its quality of Shaksperian humor.

—The annual report of the State Geologist for New Jersey for 1894 (only recently printed) is again to be remarked for Prof. R. D. Salisbury's report of progress in the study of surface geology. This novel survey continues to throw an unexpected light on the glacial and pre-glacial history of the State, as, in the influence of stagnant ice on the deposition of stratified drift, the evidences of submergence, etc. The study proceeds from the Schooley peneplain, and may be recommended to pedestrians and bicyclists whose excursions have a more substantial motive than mere exercise. To one who understands the topography of northwestern New Jersey, says Prof. Salisbury, "the long, even crest of Kittatinny Mountain, stretching away for miles to the north, and the almost equally even crest line of the Highlands, seen in the distance across the valley to the east, tell of a lapse of time and of an amount of erosion beside which the gorge of the [Delaware] Water Gap seems paltry and mean. . . . As a geographic feature, the Kittatinny Mountain cannot be said to have been greatly modified by the ice of the glacial period." The chapter on the abundance and direction of glacial striæ is extremely interesting, and so are those on the changes in drainage, on the nature and variety of the lakes of northern New Jersey, on the gravels and sands south of the terminal moraine, etc. "If the ice which coöperated with water in the deposition of the Pensauken [formation] was berg ice—emanating from glaciers—it is believed that it belonged to a glacial epoch antedating any which has heretofore been recognized in America." Of great practical value are the remarks on road material, of which the Pensauken furnishes an abundant supply. The report is accompanied by plates and a large colored map of the surface formations of the Passaic valley and its surroundings. Mr. Lewis Woolman extends his annual record of artesian wells in Southern New Jersey, and enumerates the several diatom clay beds involved in the borings; No. 3, which extends to North Carolina, being the most remarkable and extensive in the world. The report on forestry, by Mr. C. C. Vermeule, reveals an unbroken tract of forest of 11,000 acres on the top of the Palisades. This is shown on a tinted map of the whole State. Finally, Mr. John Gifford makes a preliminary report on the forest conditions of South Jersey, which possesses a curious interest on account of its particularity, and especially for its information respecting forest fires, which there is urgent need of controlling by State regulation.

—At the founding of the American Ornithologists' Union in 1883, a committee, consisting of Messrs. Coues, Allen, Ridgway, Brewster, and Henshaw, was appointed to prepare certain canons of nomenclature and apply these to a revision of the list of North American birds. The code followed up to that time, tacitly and in the main, was the Stricklandian of 1844, which in its time formulated the consensus of opinion or general practice of ornithologists since the Linnæan period. The committee prepared a more elaborate and more precise code, some main features of which were the recognition of priority as a cast-iron principle of nomenclature, the taking of Linnæus at 1758 instead of 1766, and the rejection of homonyms in face of whatever sanction by usage, and thereupon drew up their list of native birds with a degree of consistency which had never before been witnessed in any department of zoölogy. This list acquired such authority that every name not on it went out of use. The code itself found great favor among other naturalists, particularly those working in other departments of vertebrates and in conchology and entomology; and many who found fault with particular provisions preferred to waive their objections and take it in *en bloc*, as being on the whole most conducive to that stability of nomenclature for which they yearned. The same ichor in due course infected the botanists; and the present eruption in their nomenclature, with all its "burning questions," which had never been allowed to ignite during Asa Gray's lifetime, is mainly due to the influence of the ornithological ordinances. The original committee has remained the same, with one exception, and has never found occasion to revise its code in a single particular, but has just issued what may be called its first decennial revision of the list, mainly for the purpose of formally including the additions to our bird-fauna made during the past few years. These are more numerous than they ever were before in the same space of years; but of changes in names from some unexpected bearing of a canon in this or that case the instances are very few. We could not state the present total of species and subspecies recognized without actual count, as the committee use *a*, *b*, *c*, etc., for subspecies, and interpolate new species with a decimal point in order that the numbers originally affixed may be permanent; we suppose the total to be upward of 900. Names relegated to the "hypothetical list," which is the Union's waste-basket, are only 22—a surprisingly small amount of refuse or refractory material after sifting and identifying several thousand names and synonyms. The list of fossil birds is 64—1 Jurassic, 23 Cretaceous, the rest Tertiary. The names are printed in very heavy type, without synonymy excepting two references (to the original name and to the name adopted), and four others (by number only), to the prior lists of Baird, 1858, Coues, 1873 and 1882, and Ridgway, 1880; and a statement of habitat is made in every case. The book makes a sizable octavo of pp. viii, 372, and will doubtless remain the only recognized authority in classification and nomenclature until its next revision, which is expected to be another decennial one.

—Occasionally a scientific observation is made which gives a wide glimpse into the vast unexplored region of ignorance by which we are surrounded, and which will doubtless for ever save the scientist from the pain of being obliged to sit down with all his work accomplished. A German investigator has just made out the very curious fact that if the long, thread-like pseudopodia of certain low animals (foraminifera) are touched by the threads of another individual, they contract, shrivel up, and even break up into separate drops of protoplasm, but that if the threads which touch are those of the same individual, nothing of this sort occurs. The threads may even be cut off, and this same sensitiveness to the difference between the Me and the not-Me continues. There is, of course, absolutely no difference of structure—nothing in the organic world can be more alike so far as our powers of observation can be extended by all the appliances at our command, than these undifferentiated threads of naked protoplasm. And this still more curious fact is to be added—the pseudopodia of young individuals of the same brood do not cause this mutual contraction when brought into contact with each other; this difference in the protoplasm of different individuals, whatever may be its nature, is developed in the course of the life of the individual. If little things like orbitolites have such profound differences in structure as this would indicate, what deep physical bases may there not be for the antipathies and sympathies of highly organized human beings?

—The career of Antonio Gallenga, who died a fortnight ago in England, illustrated the boundless possibilities of romance which our miscalled commonplace century has furnished. He was born in Parma in 1810, and was swept into the whirl of Italian conspiracy by the abortive revolutions of 1831. Thenceforth he became an exile. Visiting this country, he was cordially received by, and for a time lived on intimate terms with, Longfellow, Prescott, Ticknor, and the older literary society in Boston and Cambridge. Returning to Europe, he made England his abode, if any one who travelled continuously could be said to have an abode. At any rate, his chief works, 'Mariotti's Italy,' 'Italy in 1848,' 'A History of Piedmont,' etc., were written in English and published in London. From 1859 till about twelve years ago, Gallenga was the Italian correspondent of the London *Times*, a position in which he exerted an influence that his character hardly justified, for Gallenga may fairly be regarded as an excellent specimen of the modern type of versatile, clever, and irresponsible journalist, and the ease with which he changed his political principles to suit the taste of his employer is further evidence of his fitness for journalism. His works, which we have mentioned, are still worth reading by any one who wishes to get a contemporary look at Italy fifty years ago. He writes with much vivacity—like Ruffini, he quickly mastered

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English—and he has unusual ability in interweaving statistics, events, and aspirations. But probably he will be remembered longest as having been, in his youth, under the *alias* "Luigi Mariotti," engaged in an attempt to assassinate Charles Albert, King of Piedmont. According to his story, Mazzini gave him a dagger with which to commit regicide. Mazzini denied complicity in the proposed crime, but for years his enemies used the insinuation, as if it had been proof, against him. Mazzinians, it may easily be imagined, were not disposed to construe charitably Mariotti-Gallenga's conversion into a courtier of the King whose father he had wished to kill.

BAIRD'S HUGUENOTS.

The Huguenots and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. By Henry M. Baird. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1895. 2 vols., pp. xxviii, 566; xix, 604.

Prof. Baird may well be congratulated on the completion of a great undertaking. The two volumes before us round out the story of the Huguenots already traced through its earlier course in his 'Rise of the Huguenots' (1879) and 'Huguenots and Henry of Navarre' (1886); and the hearty commendation expressed in our notices of the preceding sections of this series is deserved by these volumes also. They exhibit the same characteristics—lucidity of style, patient investigation, guarded statement, and repression of partisan extravagance in praise or blame—that mark the other portions of his work. Prof. Baird's sympathies are never in doubt, and his aversion to the dishonesties of Louis XIII. and XIV., of Louvois, of Bossuet, or their servants and associates, is as manifest as his revulsion from the cruelties of Marillac or Foucault; but he carries the stamp of fairness and of willingness to see good wherever it may be found. Prof. Baird's recent volumes have the same limitations, also—largely self-imposed, we judge—which characterize his earlier narratives, and have already been pointed out by us. So entirely is his work the history of a party that contemporary political and intellectual development is given a subordination that is almost exclusion. Not infrequently this neglect seems a real loss. It would certainly be germane to the story of the Huguenots to develop with some fulness the policy of Richelieu which led to the downfall of La Rochelle in 1628. That policy is outlined, indeed, but with the utmost brevity. Even more desirable would be a sketch of the growth of the philosophic spirit in France during the eighteenth century, for, assuredly, it was not increased love for Protestantism that gave toleration to the Huguenots in 1787.

Prof. Baird's two volumes under consideration cover nearly two centuries—from 1610 to 1802. In them, as he tells the reader,

> "I have treated of the attempt to undo the work of the great Henry, from the gradual encroachments under Louis the Thirteenth to the more rapid and more violent measures that prepared the way for the formal Revocation of the Edict by Louis the Fourteenth. I have also pointed out the consequences of the recall in the great emigration, the suppression of Protestant worship save in the proscribed conventicles of the Desert, and the war of the Camisards, into which fanaticism was driven by cruel intolerance. Finally, I have delineated the gradual recovery by the oppressed Huguenots of their ecclesiastical organization and of the civil and religious rights from which they had been long debarred, until, after being barely tolerated, they were at last fully recognized by the civil government."

Only a few points of interest in this long story, so voluminously told, can even be glanced at in the limits of this review. One feature of Huguenot development, then, that strikes the reader of Prof. Baird's volumes is the change that came over the party after the establishment of the Bourbon House. Though granted a large measure of privilege by the Edict of Nantes, the termination of the struggles which had torn France under the Valois Kings, and the opening of new avenues to advancement to the Huguenot chiefs under Henry IV., cost the party that active leadership of great representatives of the nobility which had been largely its source of political strength. Sully did much for France, but little for his fellow-Protestants. Bouillon preferred his own interests to theirs. Henry of Rohan, the last great Protestant leader, is esteemed by Prof. Baird "as generous as Admiral Coligny, whom he probably excelled in military genius"; but his unavailing attempts to support the political power of the Huguenot party by arms from 1621 to 1629 met with "a divided support from his fellow-believers," because it was "an age of inferior devotion and less ardent enthusiasm, an age in which the ideas of the royal prerogative had reached an exaggeration unknown in the preceding century."

Prof. Baird points out many instances of this zeal for royal absolutism among the French Protestants of the seventeenth century, remarking "that as the toleration of the Reformed religion became more and more precarious, . . . the Huguenots, in their endeavor to prove themselves to be, what in reality they were, the most obedient and trustworthy subjects of the crown, were tempted to rear with their own hands that formidable structure of the absolute authority of the King, which, when once erected, was destined to prove the ruin of their hopes of quiet." Prof. Baird holds the address of Pierre Hesperien to Louis XIII., in the name of the National Synod of 1617, to be representative of the views of the party generally: "After God, we recognize your Majesty to be our only sovereign; and it is an article of our creed that there is no intermediate power between God and kings. It is among us a damnable heresy to call it into question." Daniel Tilenus, the honored theologian of Sedan, writing to his fellow-Huguenots in 1621, went so far as to say: "You wish him [Louis XIII.] to be bound to observe his predecessor's Edict in every point; but you do not consider that you owe him all obedience by an obligation divine, natural, and civil. Bear in mind that no king is bound by the ordinances of his predecessors, nor even by his own. . . . By the laws of God and of nature he is undeniably bound; nevertheless, should he chance to contravene them, he has no other judge but God." Certainly the contrast between these views and those of their fellow-Calvinists across the English Channel is instructive, and a suggestive light is thrown on the later experiences of the Huguenots themselves.

The loss of La Rochelle in 1628 signified the passing away of Huguenot political power; but though a statesman like Richelieu could hardly have done otherwise than oppose that *imperium in imperio* which the Edict of Nantes had sanctioned in the assignment of hostage cities to Huguenot control, Prof. Baird shows that the Protestants found the great Cardinal an honorable master; and he deems the years from 1629 to 1660 the most prosperous in Huguenot story. Counting "somewhat over one-fifteenth, never more than one-tenth part," of the population of France, they yet possessed over 850 places of worship, served by upwards of 700 ministers, and a share in the commerce and manufactures of the land out of all proportion to their numbers. Prof. Baird attributes the superior prosperity of the Huguenots of the middle classes to their high average of moral character, but he also gives weight to their non-observance of the ecclesiastical holidays—a neglect which he estimates as yielding an advantage of twenty per cent. in working time to the Protestants.

From the beginning of the personal reign of Louis XIV. the situation of the Huguenots grew rapidly worse. Yet the policy of the King seems to have looked towards the conversion of his Protestant subjects by Catholic missionary effort, by unfriendly interpretation of existing laws and the creation of new legal annoyances, and by the employment of bribery, rather than to have contemplated a revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Thus the King regulated the times of weddings and funerals, the duration of pastorates, and the dress and visitation of ministers; abolished the mixed courts of justice; deprived the Huguenots (between 1660 and 1684) of two-thirds of their houses of worship by a variety of legal devices; and finally (1681) made the expression of a preference for Catholic worship by Huguenot children who had reached the age of seven an irrevocable renunciation of their parents' faith.

Naturally, such unscrupulous royal zeal for the conversion of Protestants was emulated by those who wished to stand high in the graces of the King; and Prof. Baird shows that the notorious *dragonnades* originated in 1681 through the inventiveness of Michel de Marillac, intendant of Poitou, who turned the troops he had been using to collect unpaid taxes to the work of persuading Huguenots, with such apparent success as to win the approval of Louvois and Louis XIV. Public opinion did indeed force Louvois eventually to remove Marillac from office; but it was Marillac's system which Foucault revived in the spring of 1685, in Béarn, with the countenance of Louvois, and which, a few months later, when Foucault reported 21,000 "conversions" in his district as its result, Louvois applied widely, though officially disclaiming the violence which he and Louis XIV. must well have known was being exercised. These measures undoubtedly produced a nominal change of faith in great numbers, and to the sanguine thought of the King it seemed as if Protestantism was about to disappear. Prof. Baird shows that the Revocation of the Edict in October, 1685, was due to a somewhat sudden determination on the King's part, "based upon a false opinion that Protestantism, thanks to the measures put into operation for that end, had almost, if not quite, ceased to exist." He assigns the chief influence in the royal deliberations to Harlay, archbishop of Paris, to Père de la Chaise, the King's confessor, and to Louvois; to Mme. de Maintenon, so often charged with being a chief instrument in the Revocation, he ascribes no weight in swaying the King's decision, though she undoubtedly sympathized with the step.

Prof. Baird depicts the consequences of the Revocation with graphic minuteness. Of the Huguenot ministry, on whom the blow fell most severely, and to whom great inducements to conversion were offered, only about one-eighth abjured Protestantism. Of their flocks Prof. Baird estimates that not far from four hundred thousand (though exact figures are impossible) left France, in spite of the perils which the King put in their way, to the

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lasting advantage of England, Holland, and Germany. With interesting fulness he traces the efforts to preserve Protestant worship, now officially non-existent. He concludes that at least fifty of the exiled pastors revisited their flocks before 1700, and the fate of such of these returned ministers as fell into the hands of the Government shows that the secrecy observed regarding the Man of the Iron Mask was no unique feature of the vengeance of Louis XIV. Sent to prisons like those of the Île Ste.-Marguerite or of Vincennes without public trial and with every precaution to avoid communication with the outside world, they disappeared no less completely than apparently mysteriously from sight, and friends inquired in vain for years for the secret of a fate which modern publication of records has revealed.

Of the Camisard war Prof. Baird has much to say, and the picturesqueness of the struggle makes the story of the efforts of these peasants one of interest, though the evident hopelessness of their task, and the fanatical spirit of so-called prophecy which they exhibited, made the rising the work of only a fragment of the Protestant population of France. It demonstrated, however, in the sight of all Europe the absurdity of any governmental claim that, since the Revocation, Protestantism had ceased to exist in the dominions of Louis XIV.

Of more value for the permanent interest of the land was the restoration of organized French Protestantism effected by Antoine Court in 1715, with its reëstablishment of the synods and regular ministry. The story of these churches of the "Desert," as they styled themselves in language borrowed from Scripture and conveniently indefinite as to their habitat, is told from their beginnings in the Cévennes to their ultimate recognition by the French Government. In spite of life-imprisonment and galley-slavery for attendance on their services, they continued to grow, aided by the theological school which Court established at Lausanne about 1730. As the eighteenth century wore on, this opposition declined, so that though the last execution of a minister was as late as February 19, 1762 (François Rochette at Toulouse), the Protestants attempted to build church-edifices by 1755, and a year later could count 48 pastors—a number which had increased, when the memorable year 1787 arrived, to about 125. Yet the case of Calas, which Prof. Baird narrates at length, together with the efforts of Voltaire to right a great injustice, shows the popular and legal hostility to which Protestants were still liable. So far, however, did enlightened opinion outrun the slow processes of legal revision that the Government, speaking through its Comptroller-General, Turgot, in 1775, gave a recognition to the still proscribed Protestant bodies by invoking the services of their ministers in suppressing the bread riots. Such an act was natural from one who had written in favor of religious tolerance as early as 1753. It was Lafayette, however, who, on May 23, 1787, presented to the Assembly of Notables the resolution which that body transmitted without opposition to Louis XVI. praying that Protestant proscription might cease. The result was the Edict of Toleration, which did not, indeed, grant legal permission to Protestant worship, but relieved the Protestants from the worst of their disabilities. From this Edict the tide of the Revolution swung the cause of Protestant freedom rapidly onward to the law of April 7, 1802, by which the Reformed and Lutheran churches of France were given full rights, and placed under the controlling and supporting supervision of the state—a law with which Prof. Baird closes his history.

Altogether the volumes under review are scarcely less suggestive to the student of general history than to the investigator of ecclestiastical story in their demonstration of the difficulty and costliness of crushing opinion by force; and one application of this lesson to events of our own age is pointed out by Prof. Baird in his preface, when he remarks: "As history repeats itself, the close of the nineteenth century is even now beholding the counterpart, or the copy, of the legislation by means of which Louis the Fourteenth undertook to crush out the Huguenot religion from France, in laws remarkably similar, menacing the existence of Protestantism in the Baltic provinces of a great empire of our own times."

BENJAMIN'S HISTORY OF ELECTRICITY.

The Intellectual Rise in Electricity: A History. By Park Benjamin. Appletons. 1895.

The present history is, in its two halves (the first down to Gilbert inclusive, and the second from Gilbert's successors to Franklin, inclusive), of very different orders of merit; the last part being much the more valuable. In the first part, in which we miss any reference to the graceful, useful, and beautifully printed translation by our countryman, Dr. Mottelay, of Gilbert on the Magnet, which we reviewed some months ago, every scrap of information has been diligently collected; but our comments will show that the work has its blemishes. In the second half, this work comes into competition with Dr. Priestley's 'History and Present State of Electricity,' which, besides being a thorough and full account of the matter, is also a particularly well-arranged account, which can hardly be said of Mr. Benjamin's. Priestley's is also entirely free from the sensational tone of our *fin-de-siècle* style. But there is enough, both of fact and of well-executed general sketches of historical situations, in the volume before us to establish it as the leading work on the subject in any language.

In the period antecedent to the death of Bacon there is much baseless conjecture. Thus, Mr. Benjamin guesses that Gilbert lived in London in Linacre's house. But he could easily have ascertained that Dr. Gilbert lived in the lane called Peter's Hill, south of *Little* Knightrider Street, while the Linacre house was No. 5 of Knight Rider Street proper, and, we believe, on the north side. While thorough scholarship was not an indispensable qualification for Mr. Benjamin's task, we could wish there were fewer indications of the lack of it. On the second page of the first chapter we read that Homer ("Iliad, Z.[1] 513: T.[1] 398") calls the sun ἠλέκτορ. A proof-reader familiar with the looks of Greek words would have challenged that. Boesius is the name which Mr. Benjamin gives to the philosopher Boetius. We are familiar with Boethius and even Boecius, but do not remember Boesius. Under the reign of "Aelfred," Mr. Benjamin informs us that Scotus Erigena "began the assertion of the scholastic philosophy." There are three errors here. In the first place, Erigena (whom it is no longer permissible to confound with another Irishman at the court of the Mercian King) was not a subject of Alfred. In the second place, the scholastic philosophy did not consist in any assertion. It was the philosophy taught in the lecture-rooms (*scholæ*) of the mediæval universities. The only philosophical proposition concerning which the scholastic doctors were agreed was the practical infallibility of Aristotle. What marked their teaching was, first, its general form (it was usually either a commentary or a disputation, or both), and, second, the algebra-like formality of its statements. Scotus Erigena was not a scholastic; for, first, he lived over three centuries before the regular organization of the universities, and in a deeply dissimilar civilization (or want of civilization); second, he is not an Aristotelean; third, the 'De Divisione Naturæ' is neither a commentary nor a disputation; fourth, it is not marked by great formality of statement; fifth, it is in no sense a school-book. The university of Alexandria, according to Benjamin, was "begun by Alexander." We apprehend it will be necessary to take the will for the deed, to make that out. As ornaments of that university are mentioned Archimedes and Hipparchus. The former did study and the latter may have studied there; but Archimedes did the work of his life in Syracuse, and Hipparchus at Rhodes and elsewhere. He did not observe in Alexandria.

Mr. Benjamin's references are not seldom inaccurate. The following is a single specimen: "Vincenti Bellovacensis: Speculi Naturales, etc., tom. ii., lib. ix., c. 19." On one of the first pages there is a faulty reference to a passage in Pliny, which is all the worse because Pliny is not quite accurately reported. Even the scientific statements are often careless. Thus, we are told that the orientation of the Great Pyramid is in error by 19′ 58″, and that a surveyor "with the best modern compass" could hardly do better. Now, to begin with, the error of orientation is only about 1¼′, which, being the *minimum visibile*, is as small as the probable error of the best possible naked-eye observation. No modern surveyor, when he wants to do nice work, dreams of employing a compass; and, for that reason, there has been no attempt to develop a compass of precision. But in all magnetical surveys the deviation of the needle is ascertained far more closely than the figure given.

But let us come to the substance of the work. The author has unfortunately a theory. If it were a very broad and instructive theory, especially if it were very solidly founded, this would be no misfortune. But it is neither broad nor solid. It is that the knowledge of the earliest form of mariner's compass came from the Baltic town of Wisby, that it came to Wisby from the Finns, and that it had been, perhaps, an ancient heritage of the great "Turanian" race. Apparently because that theory is sadly in need of support, the author accepts without the slightest reserve the theory of Mr. Terrien de Lacouperie of the Elamite origin of the earliest Chinese civilization. Singularly enough, however, when it comes to accounts of the Chinese possessing compasses before the Europeans, he becomes unexpectedly sceptical. The letter of Klaproth of 1835 is generally supposed to have proved the proposition that the Chinese, some time before A. D. 400, at latest—that is, many ages before the Europeans—knew that a needle could receive directive force from a lodestone. As for the Egyptians, Dr. Benjamin reaches the sane conclusion that they knew nothing about magnets, though the process by which he reaches that result is open to some objection. As for knowledge of the magnet on the part of the Greeks and Romans, it is easily stated. Dr. Benjamin drags in irrelevant matter from Rossignol's essay on the mythology of Greek miners; but, for the matter in hand, the well-known passage in the 'Ion' of Plato gives all

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the information there is. Namely, the Greeks knew that a lodestone would lift an iron ring, and that another, and so on; but they knew nothing of the polarity of the magnet.

It is next to impossible to prove the negative proposition, that the mariner's compass (in some crude form) was not known at a given date. Such is the stupidity of man that it would be known for a very long time before it came much into use. On an Arabian vessel we first hear of it, Mr. Benjamin assures us, in A. D. 1240. Since the needle was floated on water, and was magnetized then and there (only soft iron being at hand), it would be used only on cloudy nights when the sea was pretty calm. It might go a long time unrecorded in a book; and it might be recorded in numbers of books before it was recorded in one which Western scholars have read. To show how slow progress was in those days, the compass is mentioned (as Klaproth shows) as a familiar thing in the laws of Alfonso X. of Castile dated A.D. 1263; and yet the evidence seems to be (we are indebted to Mr. Benjamin for this) that Spanish galleys were never supplied with it before 1403. The rational conclusion seems to us to be that it was probably known in the Mediterranean before A.D. 1200; but, owing to the choppy seas, it was little used in these waters until it was balanced on a point.

We now turn to northern waters. The Norsemen used to follow the method of Noah, except that they sent out ravens instead of doves. The earliest description of the mariner's compass (in precisely the same form as that of the Arabians of A. D. 1240) which Mr. Benjamin finds is in Neckam's book 'De Natura Rerum,' written about 1180. He gives a flattering portrait of Neckam, and compares his book with the 'Origines' of St. Isidorus. But surely the two greatest merits of an encyclopædia are to be full and to be compressed. The work of St. Isidorus in twenty books has both those merits in an eminent degree. Considered as an encyclopædia, the work of Neckam is contemptible, being both small and garrulous. Within a few years after Neckam, notices of the compass in northern waters multiply. M. Paulin Paris gave in 1842 some verses by Guyot de Provins and some others by another poet. Dr. Benjamin has very prettily translated several of these; but the originals would have been quite worth giving, too. Within fifty years of the first passage in Neckam we know of near a dozen passages referring to the compass. The contrast between this state of things and the single Arabian passage may be attributed to the thorough overhauling of early European literature. The inference is, that the compass could have been very little known, if at all, in Normandy much before the earliest of these quickly succeeding notices. Therefore, although the balance of evidence inclines toward the supposition that the compass was known in the north before it was known in the Mediterranean, it inclines only slightly that way. As far as investigation has gone, there is no evidence whatever of the compass having been known in those early days in the Baltic. True, it is mentioned as of great importance in the laws of Wisby; but it is probable that that law was a late insertion. We should expect that the compass would in its early shape have been used in the Baltic, owing to the fogs and the smooth sea; but positive evidence is altogether wanting.

Mr. Benjamin seems to regard the invention of the early mariner's compass as an exceedingly difficult one. If that be just, then decidedly the probable hypothesis about its introduction is that of Klaproth, that the Arabs got it from the Chinese, and that from them the knowledge was carried through, or crept round, Europe to the north. But it may be doubted whether the invention is so difficult that it might not, without improbability, be supposed to have been independently invented in different places. Is it incredible that a man playing with two lodestones should find out their polarity, and then magnetization, and then the directive virtue of the needle?

The latter half of Mr. Benjamin's history, after taking leave of Gilbert, is, on the whole, much the more interesting. To be sure, no startling discovery was here possible. The succession of discoverers was Von Guericke (Hauksbee ?), Gray, Du Fay, Watson, and Franklin. Mr. Benjamin modifies a little here and there our notions of what each did. It appears that that Sagredo who takes the leading part in Galileo's dialogues, not only was a living person, like the personages of Aretino's dialogues, but also probably discovered the secular change in the variation of the compass. He mounted a lodestone of five pounds so that it would support twenty pounds. It was in experimenting with that lodestone that Galileo found out the effect of the armature in causing the magnet to grow in strength. The Jesuit Nicolaus Cabæus is another old physicist whose achievements, as Mr. Benjamin states them, are of quite another order of importance from what we had supposed. To make our meaning clear, let us say that there are five departments of work in any branch of pure physics, like electricity; namely, (1), the phenomena have to be brought out and seen; (2), suitable instruments have to be invented for their study; (3), the process of experimental analysis, or cross-questioning of Nature, must be applied so as to produce statements of the laws of the phenomena; (4), measurements have to be made (though, of course, there was little of this in the pre-Franklinian ages); and (5), hypotheses, mechanical or other, must be constructed and experimentally verified to show the inward nature of the phenomena. What we have hitherto been told about Cabæus was that he extended the list of electrics; that is, he slightly increased the range of a known phenomenon. But it now appears that he observed that when little bodies are attracted to an electrified body and strike it, they are at once thrown off from it. Now this observation was the first step necessary in the experimental analysis of the phenomenon, ultimately leading to a knowledge of its laws. Nor was that all. For it seems that Cabæus was the first to plunge a lodestone into a mass of iron filings and notice the result; and, further, that he made an analogous experiment by plunging electrified amber into a quantity of sawdust. Here he took a step of the second kind, in our enumeration; for these things were instruments of observation of high importance.

In many places, Mr. Benjamin fills up the gaps of history in this way. Nor does he neglect the historian's more difficult tasks. He pictures the fad for experimentation that was caused by Charles II.'s interest in it. He shows that that interest was pretty deep, too, and that it had a most stimulating effect upon experimental science in England. In France, on the other hand, the hollowness of Louis XIV.'s endeavor to interest himself in science, combined with the total absence of interest on the part of Louvois, are fully proved to have had a very unfortunate effect on French science. All such general sketches have been executed by Mr. Benjamin upon a basis of thorough study.

There are few contested points in the history of electricity from Gilbert to Franklin. One of these is whether Cuneus, a gentleman of Leyden, had any hand in the discovery of the Leyden jar. In the first printed account of it by the Abbé Nollet, in the 'Mémoires de l'Académie Royale des Sciences' for 1746, it is said that Cuneus had seen some of the experiments upon which the celebrated Musschenbroek of Leyden was then engaged, to ascertain whether the effects of electricity wonld not be increased by enclosing the electrified body in glass, and that Cuneus undertook to repeat one of them at his home. But instead of leaving the flask in which the conductor to be electrified was placed, on the table, he held it in his hand, and thus got a strong shock. It was afterwards said that Cuneus had nothing to do with it; that that was a story got up to detract from Musschenbroek's credit. But Dr. Priestley, writing his history only twenty years later, was in a condition to collect testimony. He says: "The views which led to this discovery in Holland were, *as I have been informed*, as follows." He states that Cuneus accidentally made the experiment in repeating an experiment by Musschenbroek; but he does *not* say, as the Abbé Nollet does, that to Cuneus belongs the credit. As Cuneus never made any reclamation, the inference is that he immediately communicated his experience to Musschenbroek, and that the analysis of the phenomenon was completed by the latter. Perhaps Cuneus did not of himself find out that the shock depended on his holding the bottle in his hand. Mr. Benjamin inclines to disbelieve entirely in any share in the discovery by Cuneus.

Mr. Benjamin is quite wrong in speaking, as in one place he does, as if the use of experimentation as an instrument of discovery was at variance with the Cartesian philosophy. We will also venture to doubt his confident assertion that Sir Kenelm Digby, in his 'Two Treatises, in the one of which the Nature of Bodies, in the other the Nature of Man's Soule is looked into in the way of Immortality,' plagiarizes extensively from the 'Principia' of Descartes. The latter work appeared from the press of L. Elzevir in Amsterdam on July 10, 1644. Descartes had set out from the Hoef in May for Paris; for the censure (we presume) would not in those days permit "author's corrections" of the proofs. He arrived in Paris at some time between September 27 and October 1, inclusive, and there first received copies of his book. Digby had been in Paris all along. There is evidence that his book (a folio of medium thickness) had been substantially written in the previous spring. The dedication is dated in August. The last imprimatur was affixed September 26. Now, there could hardly have been time for extensive plagiarisms (for every hypothesis, if plagiarized, is modified) between the date at which Digby could have seen the 'Principia' and the date of the imprimatur. Descartes remained in Paris ten or twelve days, during which, though much pressed for time, he had several prolonged interviews with Digby. He never made the least reclamation, though he hinted that Digby was a bold theorist, for he says to the Princess Elizabeth, "Pour ce qui est de l'état de l'âme après cette vie, j'en ay biens moins de connoissance que Monsieur d'Igby." Digby and Descartes never corresponded, and Descartes was a cautious man in the matter of communicating unpublished ideas, while Digby, on the other hand, was a talker. Finally, although no man ever more widely missed the *style* of Nature than Digby did in his physical hypotheses, yet those hypotheses have a strong-

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ly marked style of their own. They have nothing of the flavor of eclecticism. Nor can we admit that any hypothesis of the 'Two Treatises' is so precisely accordant with that of the 'Principia' that it is necessary to attribute them to one author. Digby, by the way, is a better psychologist than physicist. He treats of the association of ideas, and even proposes a physical hypothesis to account for it.

We find it very difficult to let this interesting work go without saying anything more about it. An excellent present for a scientifically minded young person would be Mottelay's translation of Gilbert on the Magnet (Wiley) and Benjamin's 'Intellectual Rise' (Appleton).

The Herschels and Modern Astronomy. By Agnes M. Clerke. [The Century Science Series.] Macmillan. 1895.

LITTLE could Dr. (afterwards Sir William) Watson, as he strolled through Walcot Turnpike, Bath, late in an evening about Christmas time, 1779, have thought that his stopping in the street to look through the telescope of a "moon-struck musician" was to lead the way to the immediate inception of one of the most remarkable careers in the history of astronomy. Such, however, was the fact. Frederick William Herschel, born at Hanover, November 15, 1738, into a family possessed of an irresistible instinct and aptitude for music, having landed as a lad at Dover with but a French crown-piece in his pocket, drifted through a series of ably filled engagements as a professional musician until, in 1776, he had become Director of the public concerts at Bath. But while all this time a musician in body, he was an astronomer in spirit, at no time losing sight of the vision of the skies; and it was in the latter capacity that he had the good fortune to attract an able and willing patron, whose friendship provided precisely that opportunity which was needed for full development of his powers. All the while that, in his official capacity, he had "to engage performers, to appease discontents, to supply casual failures, to write glees and catches expressly adapted to the voices of his executants, and frequently to come forward himself as a soloist on the hautboy or the harpsichord," he was absorbingly occupied with a self-imposed task of minutely reviewing all the heavenly bodies and every spot of the celestial vault. During the progress of this unprecedented task it was that the above incident happened; for young Herschel, then engaged in a series of observations on the lunar mountains, had brought his seven-foot reflector into the street in front of his house, and was gazing diligently when Dr. Watson chanced to pass by. Fortunately he did not rest with merely expressing great satisfaction at the view of the moon courteously afforded by the young German; he called the next morning to make his further acquaintance. Instantly this led to an introduction to a local philosophical society, then to the Royal Society of London, and in little more than two years to an audience with his Majesty George III. Thenceforward the great Herschel's life and work are the common knowledge of every astronomer—and it is a little singular that a century should have elapsed with no thoroughly competent history of that life and work, and no republication of Herschel's unsurpassed volume of technical papers, which have still to be sought in the original editions of the 'Philosophical Transactions.'

No less astonishing is it that his equally famous son, Sir John Herschel, now dead nearly a quarter of a century, has thus far experienced a like fate. Miss Clerke's 'The Herschels and Modern Astronomy' is almost the sole attempt to acquaint the lay reader with these great names. Sir William's sister, Caroline, has been more fortunate, and her accurate 'Journals and Recollections' form the chief authority for her brother's eminent life. Indeed, he often referred to her for the dates of events in his earlier years. Collateral information about him is meagre; but in the case of Sir John Herschel there is this important difference, that his long and intimate friendship with Sir William Rowan Hamilton led his conscientious biographer, the late Dean Graves, to make ample inclusions of Herschel's letters. Still, his life, as Miss Clerke modestly says, has yet to be written; and, as we are at liberty to judge from her excellent success with the little volume now before us, no one could tell the fascinating story of that life more entertainingly than Miss Clerke herself. Her evident sympathy with the breadth of his aims in physical investigation, her accurate knowledge of methods, and her singular felicity of expression all fit her worthily for this noble task.

But to return to Sir William. Miss Clerke has admirably told the authentic anecdote of the odd old German organ-builder, Schnetzler, who, exasperated at the staccato performance of Herschel's rival, became wild with delight when, on ascending to the loft, Herschel took from his pocket two leaden weights with which he held down an octave, all the while improvising a majestic counterpoint. "I vil luf dis man," cried Schnetzler, "because he gif my pipes time for to shpeak." And here is her crisp description of the very beginnings of Herschel's building of his own telescopes (page 15):

"In June, 1773, when fine folk had mostly deserted Bath for summer resorts, work was begun in earnest. The house was turned topsy-turvy; the two brothers attacked the novel enterprise with boyish glee. Alexander, a born mechanician, set up a huge lathe in one of the bed-rooms; a cabinet-maker was installed in the drawing-room; Caroline, in spite of secret dismay at such unruly proceedings, lent a hand, and kept meals going; William directed, inspired, toiled, with the ardor of a man who had staked his life on the issue. Meanwhile, music could not be neglected. Practising and choir-training went on; novelties for the ensuing season were prepared, compositions written and parts copied. Then the winter brought the usual round of tuitions and performances, while all the time mirrors were being ground and polished, tried and rejected, without intermission. At last, after *two hundred* failures, a tolerable reflecting telescope was produced, about five inches in aperture; . . . but those two hundred failures made the Octagon Chapel organist an expert, unapproached and unapproachable, in the construction of specula."

It was with this new instrument that, in the following March, Herschel began his astronomical work by an observation of the great nebula in Orion, the record of which is still preserved by the Royal Society.

Herschel married at fifty Mary Baldwin, only daughter of a London merchant, and widow of Mr. John Pitt. Her jointure, we are told, relieved him from pecuniary care, and her sweetness of disposition secured his domestic happiness. Miss Burney records in her diary a tea at Mr. De Luc's, adding, of the newly married wife, "She was rich, too! And astronomers are as able as other men to discern that gold can glitter as well as stars." Their only child was John Frederick William, born 1792, and his biography is here presented for the first time by Miss Clerke with some approach to suitable fulness. The wider sympathies of the son make his life of greater general interest than his father's, and not a single phase of his beautiful character escapes that careful touch which marks the perfect biographer.

Astronomy, before the Herschels, had been mostly dry formulæ and drier figures, and the irresistible momentum imparted to modern physical astronomy by the elder Herschel received a marked accession of impulse from the life and work of his brilliant son. Before their day, astronomers had mainly been content with inquiry as to precisely *where* the heavenly bodies had been and would be; anything beyond the crudest speculation as to *what* these orbs might themselves be, rarely occurred. Not only has the older astronomy not been neglected, but the new astronomy of the nineteenth century has made uninterrupted progress with every decade; and this broad movement, begun by the Herschels in England, was ably promoted by Arago in France, nor has America failed to lend a hand. Not only was a "knowledge of the construction of the heavens" the ultimate object of the elder Herschel's observations, but his conception of the sun, as ruler, fire, light, and life of our planetary system, was more than a half century in advance of his time, and no less prophetic. As early as 1801 he wrote: "The influence of this eminent body on the globe we inhabit is so great, and so widely diffused, that it becomes almost a duty to study the operations which are carried on upon the solar surface." In our day many great observatories are charged with almost the sole duty of that study. Neither to the younger Herschel was astronomy merely a matter of right ascension and declination; of poising, clamping, and reading off; of cataloguing and correcting—a mere "inventory of God's property," as Thoreau has aptly said. "It was his peculiar privilege," remarked Dean Stanley in his funeral sermon, "to combine with those more special studies such a width of view and such a power of expression as to make him an interpreter, a poet of science, even beyond his immediate sphere."

Unintentionally we have left little space for Miss Clerke's chapter on Caroline Herschel—probably the best of all the brief treatments of her life extant. Traits of modest simplicity and singular self-effacement were preëminently hers, and the story of her self denial for her brother's sake will never grow old. Miss Clerke's welcome book is one which no philosophic student of modern astronomy can pass over, and its importance as pure biography places it in the first rank among the lives of famous pioneers in science.

The Oxford Church Movement: Sketches and Recollections. By the late G. Wakeling. With an Introduction by Earl Nelson. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co.; New York: Macmillan. 1895.

IN the great variety of books that have grown up about the Oxford Movement there have been many degrees of interest. Mr. Wakeling's place is near the bottom of the scale. It comes very near to being a *lucus a non lucendo*, there is so little in it about the Oxford Movement, speaking carefully. Dean Church, in his admirable history of the Movement, dates its conclusion from the condemnation of Ward in 1845. Certainly its influence upon the church for good or ill went on for a long time after that, but, though nearly related to the Ritualististic Movement, it was quite a differ-

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ent thing. To read Pusey's 'Life and Correspondence' is to learn that he did not know the alphabet of that language of ceremonial observance which has too frequently been called "Puseyism." The spirit of Newman and Keble and Pusey in the early days of the Movement had its best representative after 1845 in Dean Church, and his indifference to the Ritualistic Movement is a striking feature of his beautiful biography. But it is of the Ritualistic Movement that Mr. Wakeling writes almost exclusively.

One of his earliest recollections as a boy was of some mention of the Tractarians in 1840. It follows that he was still a boy when the Movement collapsed five years later, and consequently all we have here concerning the Tractarians proper must be a matter of reading or mere hearsay. This fact is much disguised, we trust not wilfully, by the manner in which the matter of the book is presented. Everything in the arrangement is helter-skelter, and we pass back and forth across the line which divides the writer's personal knowledge from his second-hand material without a hint of the transition. Matters which occurred before his birth are produced as if he had sketched them on the spot. There is very little, however, about the Tractarians that we have not had before in better shape. The real interest and value of the book, so far as it has any, lies in its exhibition of the development of Ritualism. Even here, so wide is the field from which the facts are grubbed, only a small part can go to justify the "Recollections" of the title-page, and the whole is like the primitive chaos, without form and void. Only occasionally does a date emerge for us to cling to in the wide inundation of incidents and names.

The names are generally so unfamiliar that they go far to justify the complaint which has been made of the lack of conspicuous personality in the Ritualistic Movement. The incidents are trivial only to the unritualized mind, and there is something very entertaining in the naïve enthusiasm with which, page after page, such things are set down as these: "The choir were not in surplices till Advent, 1846." "The altar was the only part that there was a hope of making decent, and this, with the aid of dorsel and flowers at festivals, cross and candlesticks, was all that for some years was attempted." Many are the congratulations on the splendor of the later vestments, decorations, and observances, in comparison with the weak beginnings. Every change in this direction is recorded with the enthusiasm of one reporting moral victories. Here and there the triviality verges upon silliness, and, to make it more conspicuous, it is frequently injected into the body of a paragraph with which it has little or no connection, as if too good to lose. How incidents of such slight importance could have been remembered by anybody of good sound intelligence, it is difficult to conceive.

There is abundant evidence of improvement in the taste and decency of religious services. The parish clerk does not inform the rector nowadays between the prayers that the bear for the bear-baiting has arrived and that he is a fine animal. Daily service and weekly communion are the rule, and we should seek in vain for "the old country rector who, without the least conscious profanity, at the monthly celebration would consecrate nearly half a loaf, giving it at the end of the service to the poorer communicants who flocked to the altar rails." The heinousness of this, of course, depends somewhat upon the point of view. One habit, not distinctly moral, seemed rather to increase than to diminish under the new dispensation. "Mr. Keble mentions a saying of Justice Coleridge, 'If you want to propagate your opinions you should lend your sermons; the clergy would then preach them and adopt your opinions,' and this has really been the effect of the Plain and other Sermons. It seems a pity that the price of the volumes was so high." "What a boon these sermons must have been to hard-working parish priests who certainly could not secure the leisure to write more than one good sermon a week!" This sermon-stealing sometimes led to painful situations, and a sickly gleam of humor plays for a moment across Mr. Wakeling's solemn page when he tells of a few sermons, printed with a memoir, which the subject of the memoir had not written. Mr. Wakeling has not exaggerated the triumph of ritualism in the English church. Ward was condemned and disgraced because, in his 'Ideal Church,' he insisted on the right of the Anglican to the free use of the entire Roman ritual and doctrine. That was just fifty years ago. Now there are hundreds of Anglicans making good his claim, with no one to molest or make them afraid. The Church of England has given the Church of Rome an effectual check in England by the encouragement of home manufactures as nearly as may be resembling those of the Eternal City.

The Life of John Livingston Nevius. By Helen S. Coan Nevius. Fleming H. Revell Co.

It sometimes happens that the best works accomplished by a man during his life are left out of his posthumous biography. We are not sure but that something like this has happened in the present instance. Dr. Nevius was for nearly forty years a missionary in China, and the story of his life as told by his wife is one of great moral and spiritual beauty. He entered Shan Tung, the holy land of the Chinese, the birthplace and tomb of Confucius, when the people handed back the tracts and books of the missionaries, saying, "We neither approve nor desire them." He died after having, with his colleagues, planted Christian churches throughout the peninsula. This biography pictures him as husband, friend, teacher, author, and preacher. Yet, unless the reviewer mistake the impression left on his own mind by the Chinese themselves and by non-clerical and non-professional English-speaking people in China, Dr. Nevius was equally powerful and influential in other ways. His practical common sense, his knowledge of manual expedients, his power and willingness to aid the Chinese in applying the arts and sciences of the West, his willingness to meet them on their own ground and to respect their traditions and their sensibilities, were not least among the secrets of his power. These made him everybody's friend, and kept his influence ever potent. Without belittling "the power of the Gospel" or the ordinary means used to spread it, it is none the less true that the quality of manhood in the messenger is, at first, even more potent than the message. Among the hundreds sent out as missionaries to China there is still much room where Dr. Nevius dwelt when on earth—at the top.

John Nevius was born in the beautiful region of the "finger lakes" in central New York, spending his boyhood between those named Seneca and Cayuga. The name Nevius, from the French Neve but Latinized, proves, along with well-supported traditional and documentary evidence, that the ancestral stock was Huguenot and Netherlandish. His first venture in early manhood, after graduation from Union College, was as a school-teacher in Georgia. After a year of pedagogy he decided to enter the ministry, and went to study in Princeton Seminary. He married Miss Helen S. Coan (who survives him as biographer), and, after a six months' voyage, reached Ningpo in 1854, where Dr. D. Bethune McCartee had come as pioneer. In Ningpo, as a well-equipped speaker and writer of Chinese, he was finely prepared for his main life work in the province of Confucius. He died at his post and in his own home, in presence of his wife and among his books, after only a few hours of illness. His grave is at Chefoo. He visited Korea once and Japan several times. One is not surprised to have Mrs. Nevius write:

"As to the people of Japan, the opinion we formed of them so long ago [1860] has never changed. There is a certain shrewdness and vivacity and readiness to learn of others, in which they undoubtedly are superior to the Chinese; but in most respects I think the inhabitants of the 'Middle Kingdom' are fully their equals."

Rather above the average of missionary biography in piquancy of style, liveliness of narrative, and quality of details, this literary picture of an American gentleman who so grandly combined the ideal and the practical, deserves the study of young men as it will command the delighted attention of Dr. Nevius's old friends. There are illustrations, a map, and a good portrait, but no index.

Side Talks with Girls. By Ruth Ashmore. Charles Scribner's Sons.

Miss Ashmore speaks to girls with the wisdom of experience. This is just the sort of wisdom which, unless displayed with much discretion, girls are little disposed to profit by. The book is very discreet, the author putting herself easily on terms of equality with her audience, imparting advice tactfully, and, in every way, doing her best not to excite that rebellious spirit which prompts the daughters of each generation to think themselves wiser than their mothers. The most valuable chapters (for they discuss matters beyond the experience of many mothers) are those addressed to girls who leave comfortable homes in order to seek fortune in large cities. The descriptions of the life of the average actress, artist, and shop-girl are unexaggerated statement of fact. Any error is in understatement of the hardship and discouragement which the homeless working-girl must face, and of the demoralization which frequently ensues. For the girl whom actual necessity drives to scramble for a living as best she may, there are useful hints and suggestions of employment not leading to glory or fortune, but fairly remunerative and quite compatible with preservation of bodily health and personal decency.

In her comments the author emphasizes the joy of being a good girl at home, rather ignoring the sometimes besetting temptations to be a bad one. Fathers, mothers, and occasionally brothers, are not always compact of good temper, justice, and love; if they were, Miss Ashmore's talks would be largely superfluous, and the "Advanced Woman" whom she scourges might possibly never have come into existence.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Almanach de Gotha, 1896. Gotha: Justus Perthes; New York: Westermann
Chambers, R. W. The Red Republic: A Romance of the Commune. Putnams. $1.25.
Channing, Grace E. The Sister of a Saint, and Other Stories. Chicago: Stone & Kimball.

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Chittenden, Capt. H. M. The Yellowstone National Park. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke Co.
Cortina, R. D. Modelos para Cartas en Español y en Inglés. New York: R. D. Cortina.
Coy, E. W. Latin Lessons for Beginners. American Book Co. $1.
Daggett, Mrs. C. S. Mariposilla: A Novel. Rand, McNally & Co.
Depew, C. M. 100 Years of American Commerce. New York: D. O. Haynes & Co.
Emerson, P. H. Marsh Leaves. Illustrated. London: David Nutt.
Gardner, E. C. The House that Jill Built. Springfield, Mass.: W. F. Adams Co. $1.
Gleason, C. W., and Atherton, Caroline S. First Greek Book. American Book Co. $1.
Gordon, A. C. Congressional Currency. Putnams. $1.25.
Hough, E. The Singing Mouse Stories. *Forest and Stream* Publishing Co. $1.
Knapp, Charles. Stories from Aulus Gellius. American Book Co. 30c.
Lindsay, T. B. The Lives of Cornelius Nepos. American Book Co. $1.10.
Mercer, H. C. The Hill-Caves of Yucatan. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. $2.
Miller, Prof. Konrad. Die Ältesten Weltkarten. III. Heft Stuttgart: Roth'sche Verlagshandlung; New York: Westermann.
Reekie, Charles. Day Dreams. New York: L. D. Robertson & Son.
Reichel, Rev. G. V. What Shall I Tell the Children? Object Sermons and Teachings. New York: W. B. Ketcham. $1.50.
Schipper, J. Grundriss der Englischen Metrik. Leipzig: Wilhelm Braumüller.
Schultz, F. W. Politics and Patriotism. Boston: *Arena* Publishing Co. 50c.
Sherman, John. Recollections of Forty Years in the House, Senate, and Cabinet. An Autobiography. 2 vols. Chicago: The Werner Co. $7.50.
Stevens, B. F. Facsimiles of Manuscripts in European Archives relating to America, 1773-'83. Vol. XXIV. London: B. F. Stevens.
Stevenson, R. L. A Child's Garden of Verses. Illustrated. London: Lane; New York: Scribners. $1.50.
Stevenson, R. L., and Henley, W. E. Macaire: A Melodramatic Farce. Chicago: Stone & Kimball. $1.
Stevenson, R. L. Works. Vols. 6 to 11, and 16. [Thistle Edition.] Scribners.
Stowe, Harriet B. Uncle Tom's Cabin. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 60c.
Thackeray, W. M. Novels by Eminent Hands. Putnams. $1.75.

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